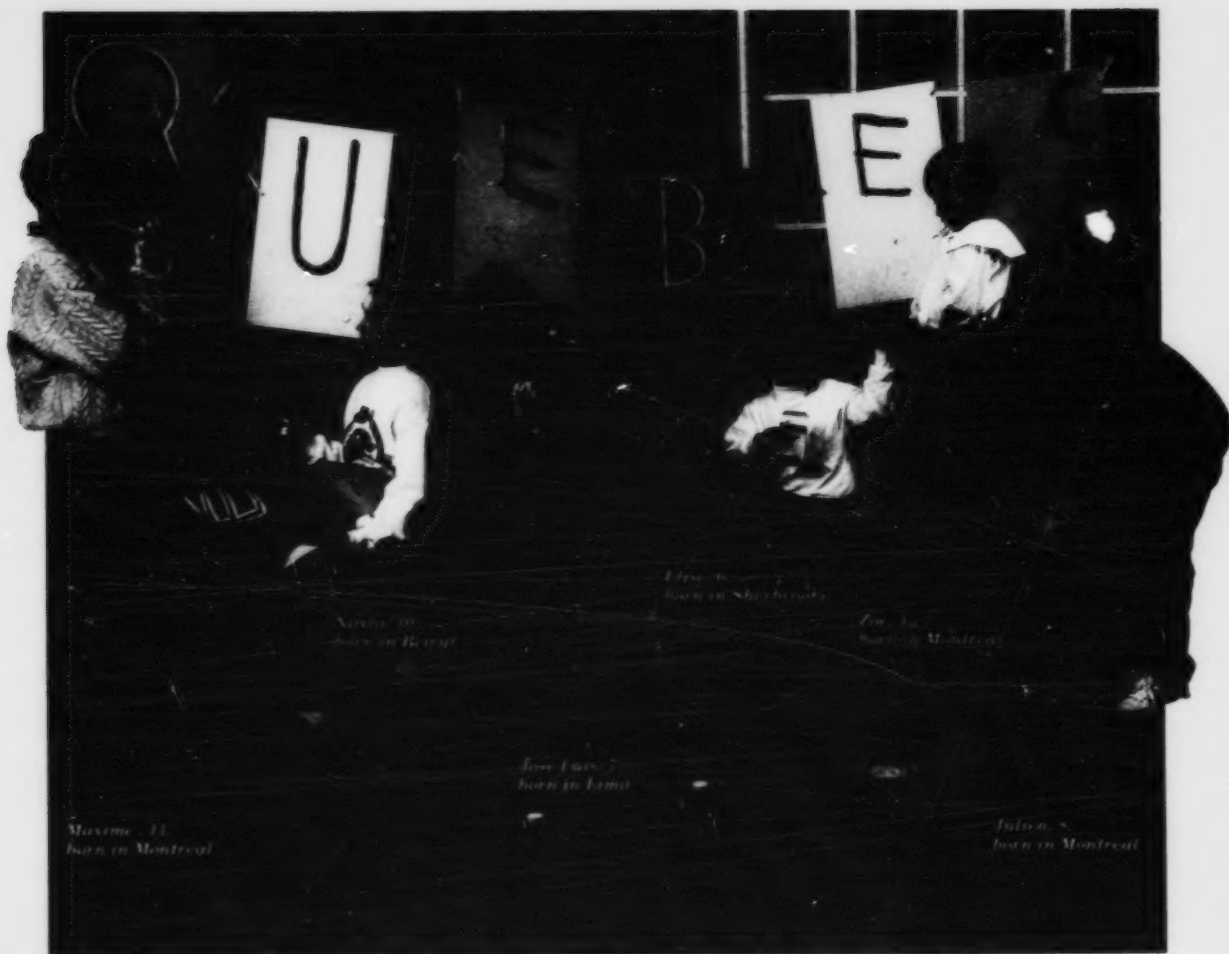


Q U É B E C
L E T ' S B U I L D
T O G E T H E R



Vision

A policy statement on immigration and integration

Québec 

*Pictured on the cover are young Quebecers of various ethnic origins, busy creating Québec's future.
Their parents come from all over the world:*

Maxime Perrault
*Maxime's parents
were born in Québec.*

Nayla Malhamé
*Nayla's parents were
born in Lebanon.*

José Luis Ouimette
*José Luis' parents
were born in Québec.*

Élise Ross Nadié
*Élise's mother was
born in Québec,
her father in Africa.*

Zoé Foisy Marquis
*Zoé's mother was
born in Vietnam,
her father in Québec.*

Julien Meyland
*Julien's mother was
born in Québec,
his father in Switzerland.*

Q U É B E C
L E T ' S B U I L D
T O G E T H E R

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A policy statement on immigration and integration

This document is published by
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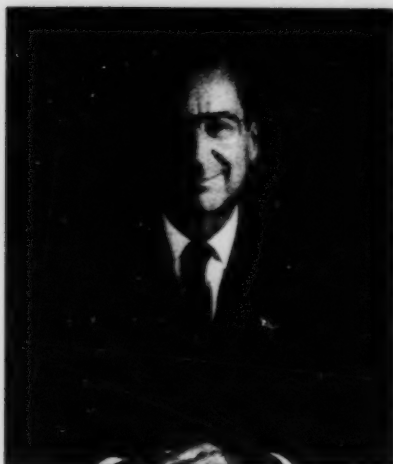
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**MESSAGE FROM THE PREMIER
OF QUÉBEC**

This century has been marked by rapid and profound economic, social and political change. Now, at its close, Québec faces decisive challenges for its future.

Immigration has a priority in building a dynamic, competitive and open society, in redressing the demographics, adapting our economy to the new international realities.



We espouse a policy that integrates newcomers and ensures the full participation of Québec's cultural communities. Both contribute fully to the enrichment of our heritage and so to both the development and international visibility of our society.

We do not yet have all the constitutional powers we need to achieve the objectives of this policy statement. So we are seeking to broaden our powers to increase our capacity to act effectively.

I ask all our fellow-citizens to support their Government in this policy. Thus, Québec may continue to earn the trust of the men and women who select it as their new home.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Robert Bourassa". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Robert" and the last name "Bourassa" clearly distinguishable.

Robert Bourassa

**MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTRE
DES COMMUNAUTÉS CULTURELLES
ET DE L'IMMIGRATION**

Recently, Québec has become more aware of how immigration can contribute to Québec's development as a distinct society.

The Government of Québec is convinced that immigration can and must contribute to redressing our demographics, to uphold the perennial reality of the French Fact and nurture the economic prosperity of Québec and its openness to the world. However, this depends primarily on how we choose our immigrants.

It also depends on our commitment and our skill, as Quebecers, at helping to integrate immigrants with a host-society that is resolutely French-speaking, democratic and pluralist. This is why Québec has developed a policy on immigration and integration.



This policy statement is the first time that Québec has ever developed a concept here. This statement expresses a vision, but also proposes measures to meet the objectives that have been set. These measures touch many areas of government action. Thus, the integration of immigrants and the full participation of the cultural communities must clearly concern the entire Government of Québec and not just our Ministry.

The State, institutions, associations, municipalities and social bodies are all reflecting upon the pluralism of our society. They are acting to adapt to it — they too are contributing to opening up Québec to cultural diversity. I urge them to continue their efforts in this direction. Successful integration is everyone's business — both our newcomers and ourselves as hosts.

I have seen how much energy the cultural communities are keen to invest in building Québec. They want to make their adopted country a land of peace and prosperity. Through this policy statement, I warmly invite them to join fully in a project vital to us all.

A large, elegant, handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'Monique Gagnon-Tremblay'.

Monique Gagnon-Tremblay

**MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTRE
DÉLÉGUÉ AUX COMMUNAUTÉS
CULTURELLES**

Our cultural communities are a remarkable asset to Québec. They contribute to the pluralism of our society and open a window on the world for all of us. I stress their cultural distinctiveness. They enrich society with their economic and demographic contribution. But these Quebecers equally remind us that the dignity of each individual depends on recognizing each person's unique nature.



Pluralism implies a rapport between individuals and communities of different cultures. In my dealings with Quebecers of all origins, I have seen how much the quality of the relationship depends on the level of mutual knowledge and understanding. Therefore, in this statement the Government has set itself three objectives on intergroup relations. We seek a better knowledge and understanding of Québec society amongst the cultural communities, a greater recognition of Québec's pluralist reality amongst the general public. And we need to effect a rapprochement between the cultural communities and the majority community. Measures like Intercultural Week and the Nouveaux Visages program support these aims.

Harmonious intergroup relations develop more easily when there is no link between the socio-economic status of the individuals and their ethnic origins. This Government fundamentally believes in equal opportunity.

So this statement sets objectives and proposes measures that seek the full participation of the cultural communities in every aspect of Québec society. For example, in matters of economic integration, there already exists the Public Service Affirmative Action Program.

Finally, Quebecers from the cultural communities are simply that ... Quebecers. The time has come to proclaim this frankly. Together we must begin building a Québec that matches our vision.

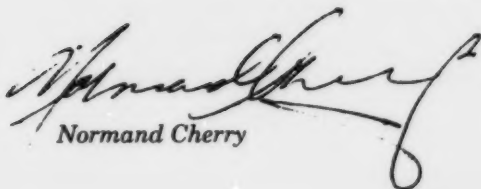

Normand Cherry

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PART I

*Immigration:
A factor in the development
of Québec*

NOTE TO READERS:

When the subject matter concerns both immigrants and Quebecers who belong to various cultural communities, we have resorted to the shorter form "Quebeckers from the cultural communities". When the subject affects both groups but in different ways, we then use the complete form "immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities".

THE CONTEXT

IMMIGRATION AND THE PRESENCE OF CULTURAL COMMUNITIES: A LONG-STANDING REALITY IN QUÉBEC

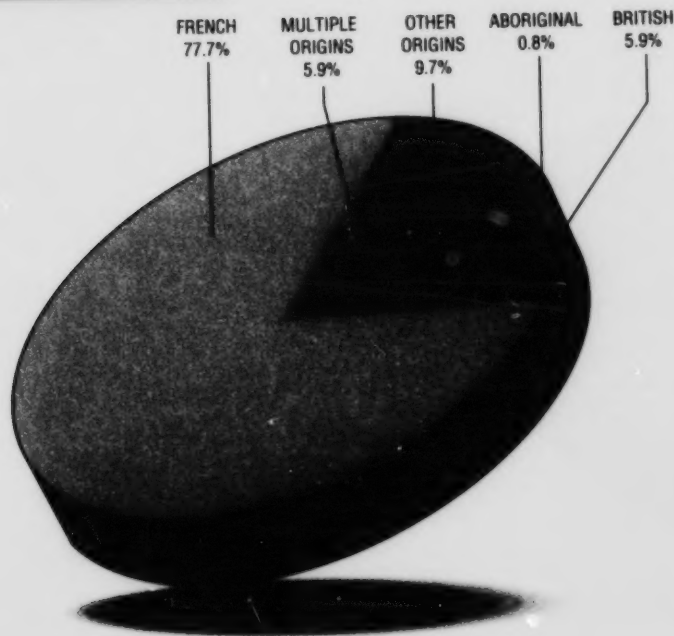
The immigration of people of various origins has long been a constant thread through Québec's past. Immigration has also been a vigorous driving force in the settlement and development of Québec. We can think as far back as Mathieu da Costa, the black interpreter who accompanied Samuel de Champlain on his early voyages. We can remember the United Empire Loyalists, the Irish, the Jews of Eastern Europe, the black Americans in search of freedom, the Chinese, the mass-migrations, mainly from southern Europe, after World War II and all those other immigrants who have helped shape Québec society throughout its history. It has been a long and remarkable parade.

This major migratory contribution (over 1.1 million people since 1946) allowed Québec

to make substantial demographic strides, especially since World War II. Immigrants from every origin helped transform Québec's economy. It was a transformation that was crucial to developing one of the most wealthy nations in the industrialized world, whose standard of living has made it the envy of many. Generally, the contribution made by immigrants has thoroughly permeated Québec's cultural heritage. Today, we may be largely unaware of the contribution of the Irish and the Scots to Québec's so-called "traditional" music — or of the diverse international influences reflected in both our cooking and our architecture.

More recently, immigrants to Québec arriving from every corner of the earth — notably Vietnamese, Haitians, Latin Americans, Lebanese — have elected to live in Québec and to put down their roots in our soil.

Figure 1: Population by ethnic origin, Québec, 1986



Source : Canada Census, 1986

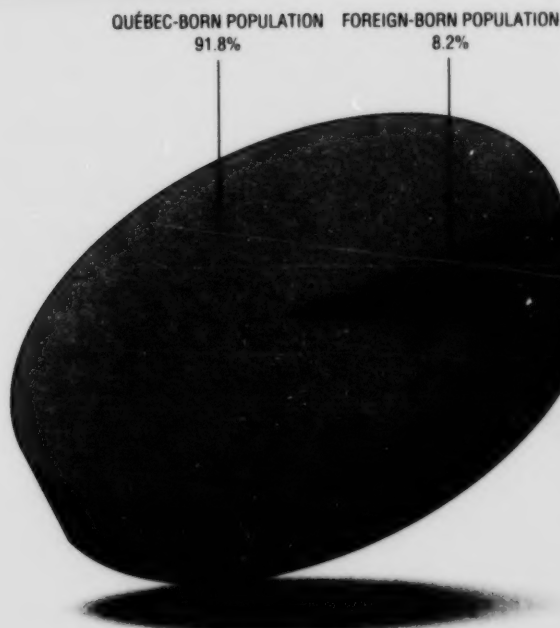
¹ Many of the issues raised in this statement, notably full participation in society and the development of harmonious intergroup relations, could apply, in whole or in part, to Quebecers of British or aboriginal origin. However, obvious historical reasons as well as the control of certain institutions conferred on them by their status — of official language minority in Canada for some, and of first nations, for others — justify the Government's decision to approach the integration of Quebecers from cultural communities as a reality requiring a specific answer.

² The expression "Quebeckers from cultural communities" widely used to designate Quebecers of other than French, British or aboriginal origin, has occasionally been questioned because it is viewed as highlighting differences, or as an attempt at marginalization. It should be borne in mind that, in a democratic

society, the choice of identifying oneself or not with one's origins belongs to the individual and, anthropologically speaking, all of Québec's communities could be qualified as "cultural". Nonetheless, for want of another, more satisfactory expression, "Quebeckers from cultural communities" will continue to be used in this statement. The notion describes two important sociological realities: on the one hand, the attachment to their culture of origin experienced by many individuals and their participation in the life of their particular communities; on the other hand, the persistence of problems relating to full participation in our society that can be linked, in whole or in part, with ethnic origin.

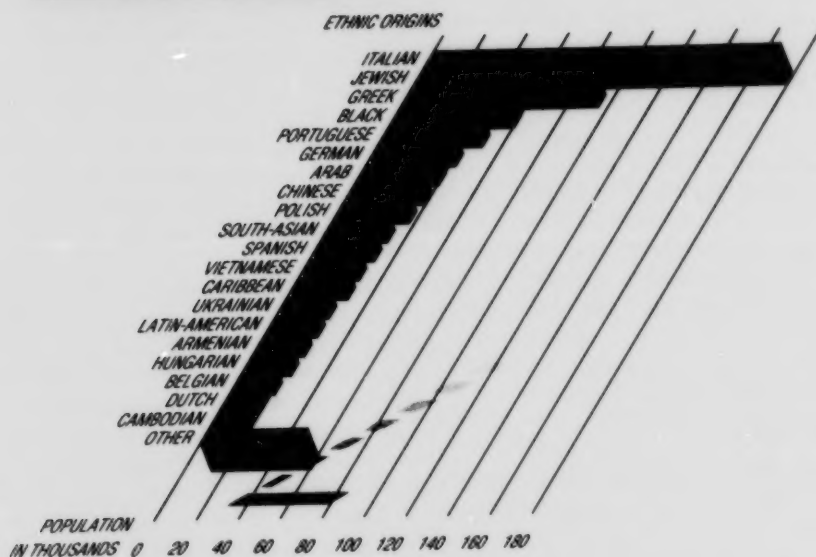
In the last census, 8 per cent of the population of Québec reported that they had been born abroad. Close to 16 per cent identified themselves with other than French, British or aboriginal origins¹. While this concept should be treated cautiously, we may consider that about one in six Quebecers identifies with one of the 100-odd cultural communities² that make up Québec.

Figure II
Foreign and Quebec born
population Quebec 1986



Source : Canada Census, 1986

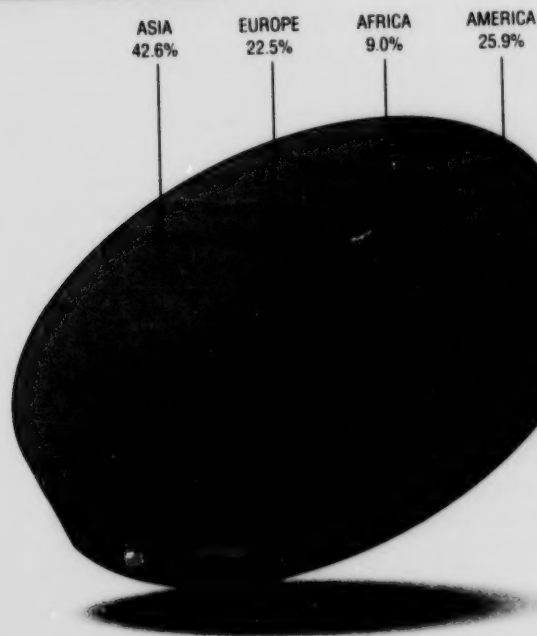
Figure III
Twenty principal ethnic origins that make up the population of single origin other than French, British and aboriginal Quebec 1986



¹ Note: Federal statistical data on ethnic origin is based on the free declaration of individuals who may have chosen the term that, in their eyes, best defines their group of origin or that of their ancestors. As shown in the diagram, such self-identification results in a certain overlapping of categories: some are truly "ethnic origins", while others are more racial or religious. While it may appear somewhat non-Cartesian, this method reflects the personal nature of identifying oneself with a particular group in a democratic society.

Source : Canada Census, 1986

Figure IV
Immigration to Québec
by continent of birth 1980-1989



Source : Direction des études et de la recherche (DER)
du ministère des Communautés culturelles
et de l'immigration (MCCI), 1990

THE RECENT AWAKENING OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS HOST-COMMUNITY

The French-speaking community has taken quite some time to define itself as a host-community that guides and supports the immigrant's process of integration — despite the historical significance of immigration in Québec and the openness to newcomers generally demonstrated by Quebecers in their daily lives.

Indeed, immigration has long been perceived with anxiety in Québec. It has been seen essentially as serving the interests of the English-Canadian population — and contributing to the minority position of the French-speaking Canadians, both across Canada and in Québec.

Traditionally, immigrants recruited and selected by Canada often did not choose to settle in Québec. Naturally, they often identified with English-speaking North American society. Among those who opted for Québec, a certain number integrated with the French-speaking community, as the family names of various origins show. However, a majority learned English and had often even adopted it by the second generation. In fact, everything supported this trend. Some prime reasons: the lower economic status of French-speakers and the lack of prestige associated with the French Fact in North America. Also, consider that a French-speaking Québec was turned inward on itself. It was more concerned with preserving the integrity of its culture and its institutions — especially at the educational level — rather than being open to the contribution of people of different religions and traditions.

The demographic, economic and cultural contribution of immigrants who integrated with the English-speaking community was undeniable. Yet, the French-speaking community often considered immigration as a necessary evil at best and, at worst, as a threat to be avoided. Québec was largely

self-sufficient demographically and had itself experienced considerable emigration towards the more industrialized areas of North America. Québec did not then recognize the benefits of the joint jurisdiction granted it by the Canadian constitution in immigration. It had not developed any special measures to receive and integrate immigrants. Without no real leadership from the French-speaking community, the institutions of the English-speaking community therefore took on the integration of the newcomers until the 1960s.

As in many other areas, the attitudes and behaviour of French-speaking Quebecers would begin to shift after World War II. But it was not until the 1960s that the main changes occurred. From then on, instead of fearing the negative of immigration, French-speaking Quebecers became aware that they could and should consider it a growth factor in the modern, French-speaking, pluralist society then being built by the architects of the Quiet Revolution.

GOVERNMENT ACTION IN THE LAST TWO DECADES

The Government of Québec began to affirm its leadership on immigration. It focused its activity on two priorities:

- Controlling the selection of immigrants to recognize the specific economic and cultural needs of Québec society
- The harmonious integration of newcomers of all origins with the French-speaking community.

Thus, in 1968, it created the ministère de l'Immigration (Ministry of Immigration) whose function is, according to its act of incorporation: "to facilitate the settling of foreign nationals in Québec in order to contribute to the enrichment of the socio-cultural heritage of Québec and to the stimulation of its economic development" and "ensure their harmonious integration into Québec society". It subsequently negotiated agreements with the federal government that gradually allowed it to broaden the real bases for its activities. Then, in 1978, the Couture-Cullen Agreement confirmed Québec's control over the selection abroad of immigrants wishing to settle in its territory.

Along with its selection activities, during the 1970s the Government sought to give concrete shape to the fundamental orientation of integrating immigrants with the French-speaking community. Thus it was that reception services, the Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFI — immigrant orientation and training centres) and classes d'accueil (full-time French as a second language classes for immigrant students) were developed. Various language policies were adopted, resulting in a much clearer message to the newcomers on the distinctive nature of Québec society and its expectations.

By the early 1980s, the cultural communities began to emerge as a growing reality. The people of Québec were faced with a new challenge. This was the need for full participation in Québec society by immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities and the need to develop harmonious intergroup relations.

This is why, in 1981, the Government broadened the mandate of the ministère de

l'Immigration. Henceforth named the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), the department would be responsible for "the planning, coordination and implementation of government policies respecting the development of cultural communities and their full participation in Québec society". Almost in the same breath, the Government created the Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration in 1984. Its aim was to promote a better understanding of the concerns of both the cultural communities and the host-society. Then, in December 1986, the National Assembly issued a *Declaration on ethnic and race relations* that stressed the importance the Government of Québec assigns to equality and to the participation of all the citizens of Québec in its development.

More recently, concrete measures have reflected the Government's intention to associate immigration more closely with the development objectives of Québec society. For instance, the Programme des investisseurs en valeurs mobilières (stock investors' program), introduced in 1986, helps strengthen the economic contribution of immigration. The development, in 1987, of programs that favour cultural rapprochement and of the first Québec-funded francization programs, both support integration with the French-speaking majority. Implementation of the contractual obligation in 1988 and of the Public Service Affirmative Action Program in 1990, encourage the full participation of all Quebecers in the employment arena.

A MAJOR ISSUE AND A HIGH-PRIORITY GOVERNMENT OBJECTIVE

In the 1990s immigration and the integration of Quebecers from the cultural communities are emerging as major challenges and high-priority Government objectives.

New factors — notably a concern for the demographic future — are making the population of Québec aware of the need to increase immigration to meet the major demographic, economic, linguistic and cultural challenges of our society. Yet, despite all the progress that has been made, questions and even concerns persist about the long-term impact of immigration on Québec society. Also, there are daily strains in maintaining harmonious intergroup relations, in a society that aims to be simultaneously French-speaking, democratic and pluralist. These can occasionally cause rejection and withdrawal on all sides.

By publishing this first-ever policy statement, the Government of Québec is demonstrating its intention to associate immigration with the major challenges facing the development of Québec. It is also seeking to rally Quebecers of all origins to its objectives — and to the social choices

underpinning them. On a practical level, then, this paper marks the beginning of more coherent, more systematic government action in a vital area.

The next two sections begin by describing the role immigration is to play in the growth of Québec. Then, the paper discusses the moral contract that should serve as a basis for integrating newcomers and the participation of Quebecers from the cultural communities. These are both elements essential to a responsible policy.

THE CHALLENGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUÉBEC AND THE ROLE OF IMMIGRATION

If immigration has become a major priority for Québec, it is because it is part of the process of developing a distinct society. Indeed, now more than ever, Québec can and must associate immigration with the four challenges, largely interdependent, on which its future is based:

- redressing the demographics of Québec (often called demographic recovery)
- economic prosperity
- the perennial reality of the French Fact
- openness to the world.

REDRESSING THE DEMOGRAPHICS

Québec's demographic future is of major concern to the people of Québec. The total fertility rate — which has been under 2.1 children per woman since the end of the 1960s and is barely more than 1.5 now — will not ensure the replacement of the generations.

The foreseeable consequences of a demographic decline are clearer now. There will be a drop in the volume of economic activity as a result of a declining population.

Québec's demographic weight within the Canadian whole will decrease, leading to a loss of political weight and to a drop in Québec's share of federal funding. The resultant aging population could result in labour shortages and serious funding problems for social programs.

These demographic trends must therefore be redressed.

Conscious of the urgency of the situation, the Government has already acted. Between 1985 and 1989, it injected more than an additional \$1 billion in support of parents. In 1989, it published a plan of action on family policy, *Familles en tête* (families first), which proposes measures designed to foster the recovery of Québec's birthrate and to support families. Earlier in 1986, it passed and since implemented a program to increase immigration volumes gradually and thus increase its net population gains through international migration. Actions on family policy and immigration

policy are thus becoming complementary³. One promotes the birthrate and a natural increase in the population. The other increases the population gains.

Immigration's contribution to the demographic challenge depends of course on Québec's capacity to retain its immigrants. This has sometimes posed difficulties in the past. However, a selection process better adapted to our economic and cultural needs has helped us to make some real progress over the last two decades. With an immigrant retention rate, after a 10 years' stay, of 65 per cent and still growing, Québec's results now almost equal those of Canada as a whole (75 per cent). This allows us to envision the future with confidence.

While immigration does not constitute a miracle solution to the demographic challenge facing Québec, it does represent a strategic lever which the Government intends to use.

- It can delay the demographic decline and even avoid it, by giving the birthrate enough time to recover.
- It can increase the number of young adults to reduce the overly-wide gaps in the age structure of an aging population⁴.
- It can help maintain Québec's demographic weight within Canada.

³ In fact they are complementary in more than one respect since the principles of family reunification advocated by the immigration policy reaffirms Québec's attachment to the fundamental role of the family as the foundation of our society.

⁴ The aging of the population has significant social consequences, since an increasingly small number of adults is forced to carry the burden — which is growing proportionately heavier — of educating the young and caring for the old.

Immigration is all the more valuable in meeting our demographic challenge because the volumes required are within the bounds of Québec's receptive capacity⁵.

As Figure V shows, a hypothetical average annual influx of 55,000 immigrants would delay the demographic decline to beyond the year 2026. Otherwise, in the absence of any immigration, given the low fertility rate of 1.5 children per woman, the decline would begin early in the next decade.

Québec cannot count solely on immigration, however, to guarantee a long-term demographic vitality, simultaneously, it will also have to correct its birthrate. If Québec managed to increase the fertility rate to 1.8 children per woman, an influx of 55,000 immigrants per year would ensure its demographic vitality throughout the 21st century.

The aging of Québec's population is inevitable over the next 20 years, due to the change in demographic régime that Québec

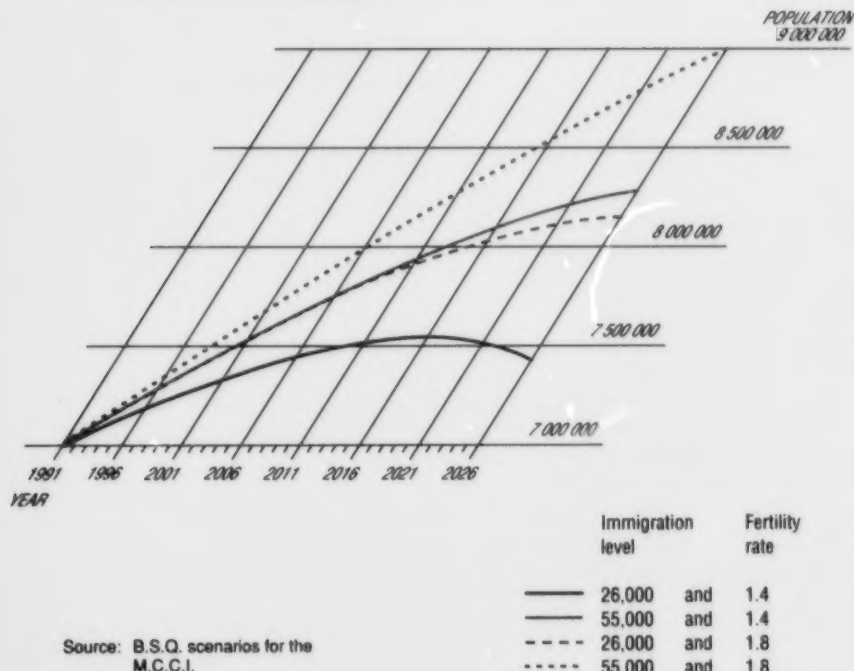
experienced in recent decades⁶. However, increased immigration could — because of immigrants' age structure — help rejuvenate the population and increase the proportion of young adults. Thus, with a volume of 55,000 immigrants per year and an increase in the fertility rate to 1.8, the average age of the Québec population in the year 2026 could be lowered to 42. (Without immigration, it would be 48 at the current fertility rate.)

The gradual increase in immigration levels will also maintain Québec's demographic weight with the rest of Canada. This weight has dropped by 3 per cent in the last two decades as a result of the low fertility rate, the interprovincial migration deficit and Québec's insufficient share of international immigration to Canada. In fact, in the last 20 years, Québec has received only 16.8 per cent of immigrants admitted to Canada. Yet, Québec's population accounts for 26 per cent of the Canadian whole. This objective depends on Québec's receptive capacity. But, the Government is aiming, in the medium term, at ensuring that Québec's share of Canadian immigration is proportional to Québec's demographic weight within Canada.

⁵ In evaluating its receptive capacity, Québec considers a variety of elements which condition its ability to integrate newcomers, notably the social consensus emerging from the public consultation on immigration levels, the economic climate and the availability of services.

⁶ The proportion of the population over the age of 65, which is currently under 10 per cent will exceed 15 per cent in 2011 and will likely be close to 25 per cent by 2026.

Figure V:
Changes in the population of Québec
Fertility rate of 1.4 and 1.8
Immigration levels of 26,000
and 55,000



Source: B.S.Q. scenarios for the M.C.C.I.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

The Government is convinced that economic growth is the driving force in a society that is confident and open to the future. What is more, economic considerations help reconcile both the immigrant's motives and the interests of Québec society. Indeed, immigrants for their part want to improve their own life and that of their descendants. The host-society, for its part, wants to be able to use immigrants' potential to meet its needs.

In the context of the 1990s, a gradual increase in immigration would fulfil the needs of a Québec economy that is reorganizing itself. Past experience shows that immigration can make a significant contribution here, both in the labour market and in increasing consumption.

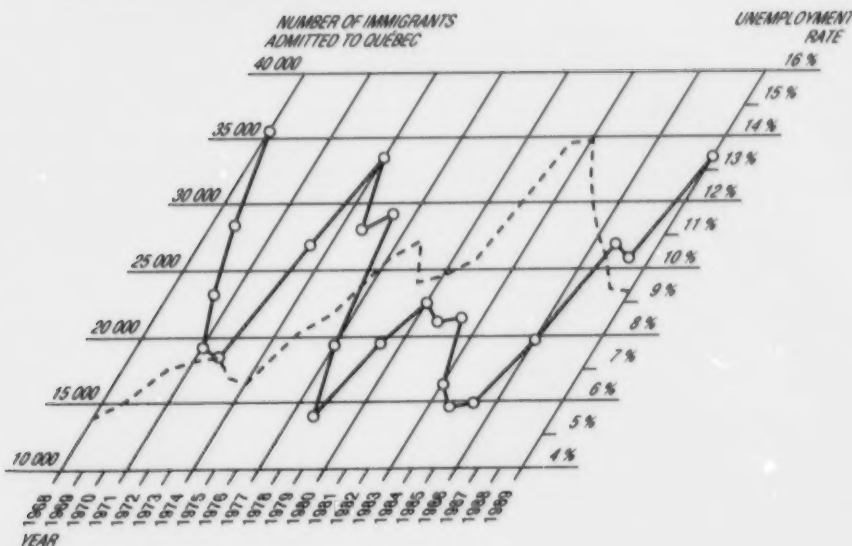
The forecasting elements — among others: a marked aging of the workforce, slow

growth of the active population and forecast labour requirements — make immigration the more precious in ensuring increased prosperity in the future. Educated young workers and active businesspeople together represent a valuable asset in maintaining the vitality of Québec's economy.

Effective selection which matches the labour market's sectoral and regional needs, will let Québec shape immigration's contribution to economic prosperity. Migration projects have in fact tended in the medium term to keep pace with the economic situation. Figure VI shows this, revealing that between 1968 and 1989 the unemployment rate and the volume of immigration have varied in inverse proportions. The Government recognizes the need for adequate arbitration of its demographic, economic and linguistic objectives in matters of immigrant selection. It intends to continue controlling the flow of immigration to match Québec's economic absorption capacity.

The Government will continue to ensure that immigrants selected play an active and positive role in the economy of Québec by watching the potential employability and entrepreneurship of applicants and will give increased support to the socio-economic integration of workers and businesspeople. Finally, the Government also intends to make sure that immigration benefits the regions more than it did in the past. This will depend on the regions' capacity and willingness to receive immigrants while ensuring that the rights of the individual are respected.

Figure VI:
Unemployment rate and total
immigration in Quebec, 1968 - 1989



--- Unemployment
— Immigration

Source : DER/MCCI, 1990.

THE PERENNIAL REALITY OF THE FRENCH FACT

As the only French-speaking majority in North America, Québec society assigns the greatest importance to the perennial reality of the French Fact. This may not totally account for the distinct character of modern Québec, but the French Fact clearly remains its most significant element.

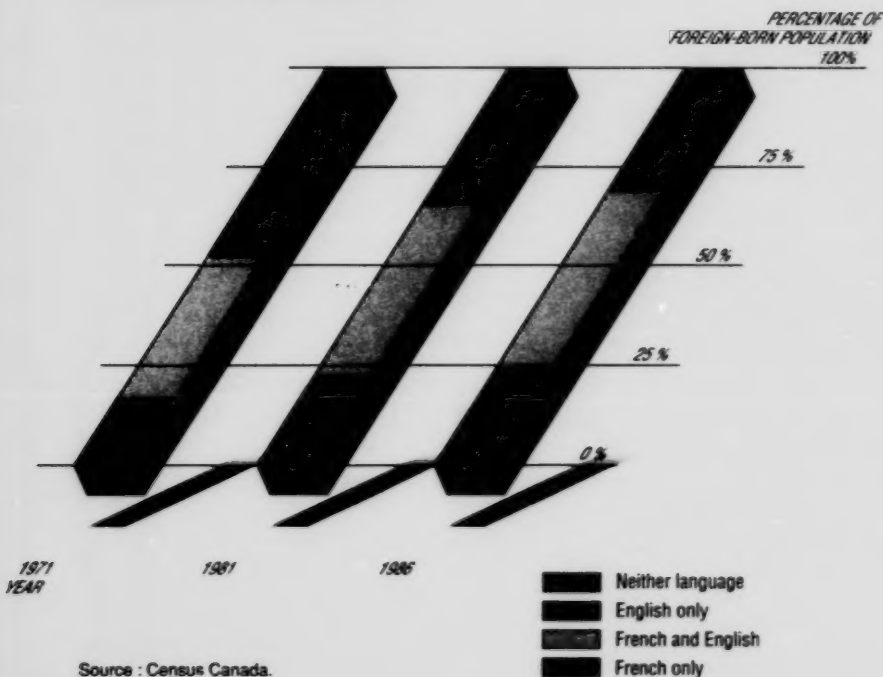
However, as we saw earlier, the impact of immigration on the language situation in Québec has not always favoured the French Fact. As a result, fears persist among the population. However, the results of all the efforts made to associate immigration more closely with the development of the French Fact in Québec have been sufficiently positive to permit a confident view of the future.

⁷ Linguistic transfer, namely abandoning the language of origin for another language as the language spoken at home or the mother tongue, is a phenomenon that most of the time extends over several generations. This concept therefore mainly measures the consequences of past reality. For instance, the consequences of language legislation in the 1970s on linguistic transfers will only be fully perceptible, according to the demographers, in the census of 2016.

The strengths and weaknesses will be discussed in depth in Parts II and III. But, these essential trends are worth noting here:

- The influx, significant in volume, of close to 180,000 French-speaking immigrants between 1968 and 1989, represents approximately 35 per cent of the total flow
- Knowledge of French among the foreign-born population progressed from slightly over 50 per cent in 1971, to nearly 70 per cent in 1986
- The reversal, after 1971, of the traditional tendency among the foreign-born population to shift to English⁷. This group now tends to adopt French as the language they speak at home.

Figure VII.
Foreign-born population living
in Québec in 1971, 1981 and 1986,
according to knowledge
of French and English



Source : Census Canada.

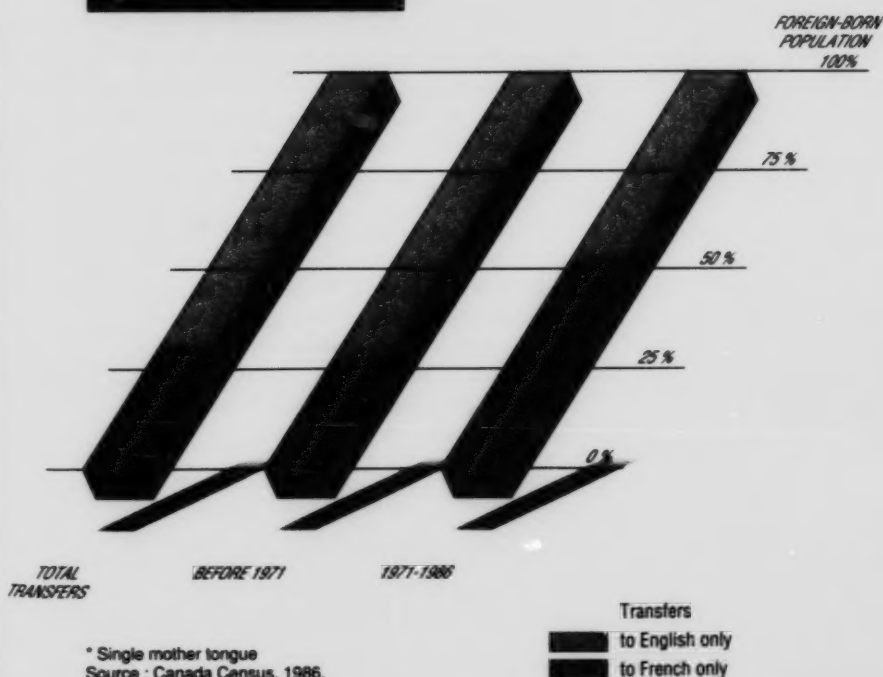
This is why the Government is convinced that immigration can and must strengthen the French Fact in Québec. Québec is facing a crucial choice, with the anticipated demographic decline and its foreseeable political, economic and cultural consequences. If it advocates a short-term withdrawal and a fragile linguistic security, it will find itself sliding into a demographic decline in the medium term. It will thus be jeopardizing its economic and cultural vitality, which are precisely two of the essential ingredients for a distinct society in North America. The Government has therefore resolutely opted for the second choice. It is committed to meeting the challenge of redressing the demographics and integrating immigrants today, to ensure the perennial reality of the French Fact in Québec tomorrow. In fact, it considers vital the contribution of French-speaking immigrants in the short term. In the long term, it values the contribution of

immigrant speakers of other languages. These will integrate more and more with the French-speaking majority. Both will prove assets of prime importance in redressing the demographics.

Augmenting immigration's contribution to the vitality of the French Fact will call for increased effort both in selecting immigrants and in supporting their integration.

This is why the fundamental areas of intervention in this policy include sustained growth in the proportion of French-speaking immigration compared to the total volume, developing French-language instruction services, promoting French as the common language and opening up the French-speaking community to the full participation of people of different origins.

Figure VIII
Proportion of language transfers
per period of immigration - Québec
1986 (foreign-born population of
mother tongue other than French or
English)



* Single mother tongue
Source : Canada Census, 1986.

We recognize that in the medium and the long term, immigration will also continue to contribute to the vitality of the English-speaking community in Québec. Indeed, the importance of English as the first or second language in the modern world means that a certain proportion of immigrants will still be English-speaking or of Anglo-Saxon tradition. To enhance the contribution of immigration to the perennial reality of the French Fact, the Government will therefore ensure that they have access — like all non-French-speaking newcomers to Québec — to French language instruction services and that they are imbued with the status of French as the common language of public life in Québec^a.

OPENNESS TO THE WORLD

In a world of interdependence and with the internationalization of economics, ecology and society, the people of Québec assign a great deal of importance to being open to the world. Indeed, as at the dawn of humanity, when early trading gave birth to civilization, the people of Québec now consider their increased contact with all peoples and all nations on earth to be an essential factor of development.

^a However, it is probable — and all in all understandable — that some of these immigrants will continue to integrate with the English-speaking community, especially in the first generation. Subsequently, the impact of their children attending French school should encourage their gradual integration with the French-speaking community. The Government therefore recognizes the role played by certain English-speaking institutions — notably those in the health and social services network — in integrating some of the newcomers. These also need support in ensuring the full participation of Quebecers from the older cultural communities which they welcomed in the past. This is why, even if priority is assigned to adapting the French-speaking institutions to the pluralist reality, since they have a lot of catching up to do, the Government will also support the English-speaking institutions in the context of its integration policy.

Thus, migration movements must continue to play an important role. The mixing of populations, the exchange of ideas and experiences that they generate, contribute greatly to the vitality of the host-societies. These are impregnated and enriched by these new influences. Even without demographic, linguistic or economic imperatives, there would be a need for an immigration policy — albeit a more modest one — in a modern and open society like Québec.

The social and cultural impact of immigration is certainly more complex to ascertain than with demographic, economic and linguistic data — which are easier to quantify. However, there are many examples of Quebecers from other parts of the world who have helped enrich Québec's culture and its institutions. These have helped to promote our society abroad or, conversely, to make it aware of important but often little-known realities. This speaks loudly of the contribution that immigration can make to Québec's socio-cultural vitality and to its openness to the world.

In underscoring these positive aspects, the Government certainly does not attempt to underestimate the real difficulties interpersonal relationships can pose between people with different values and beliefs. But generally, our population is already convinced that ethno-cultural diversity is first and foremost an asset to Québec. We need not labour over the natural problems of this asset.

This policy manifests Québec's attachment to the values of being open to the world and expressing its international solidarity. Notably, these include Québec's non-discriminatory selection process and our commitment to taking in people in distressing situations, within the limits of our capacity.

A MORAL CONTRACT THAT GUARANTEES SUCCESSFUL INTE- GRATION

Evidently, the Government is convinced that immigration is both a necessary factor and an asset in meeting the major demographic, economic, linguistic and socio-cultural challenges facing Québec as it enters the 1990s.

Immigration's contribution to achieving these objectives, the success of the migration of each individual, maintaining harmonious relations between Québeckers of all origins — all these will depend on successful integration of immigrants and their descendants and their full participation in Québec society. Thus, both aspects of this policy, immigration and integration, must be considered as a unitary whole.

Because immigration is a privilege granted by the host-society, it must make its expectations known to immigrants, if possible from the outset, so that they can gradually learn to share them. Similarly, Québec society must become more aware of the obligations towards the citizens of every origin that comprise that society imposed by its own democratic ideal.

Let us, therefore, review the principles by which we Québeckers of all origins need to join forces to build the Québec of tomorrow. These principles guide the entire integra-

tion policy and the measures that arise from it. They are based on the social choices that characterize modern Québec. They are:

- A society in which French is the common language of public life
- A democratic society where everyone is expected and encouraged both to participate and contribute
- A pluralist society that is open to multiple influences within the limits imposed by the respect for fundamental democratic values and the need for intergroup exchanges.

A SOCIETY IN WHICH FRENCH IS THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF PUBLIC LIFE

Since the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, the actions taken by successive governments in Québec in matters of language have been based on the principle of making French the common language of public life, through which Québeckers of all origins can communicate with each other and take part in the development of Québec society.

The *Québec Charter of the French Language* solemnly proclaims: "The French language, the distinctive language of a people that is in the majority French-speaking, is the instrument by which that people has articulated its identity." It must therefore be "the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business."

This is why the Government and the vast majority of Quebecers view the learning of French and its adoption as the common language of public life, as the necessary conditions for integration. Indeed, language is not only the essential instrument for participation, communication and interaction with other Quebecers. It is also a symbol of Québec identity. For the immigrant, learning French supports the development of a sense of joining and belonging to the community of Québec. For the members of the host-society, sharing a common language with immigrants fosters an openness to others.

A clear affirmation of the French-speaking community and institutions as the pivot for the integration of newcomers is essential if the perennial reality of the French Fact is to be assured in Québec. This is one of the guidelines within which the recognition of pluralism in our society will be achieved.

The host-community therefore naturally expects immigrants and their descendants to be open to the French Fact, to make the necessary effort to learn the official language of Québec and to gradually acquire a sense of commitment to its development.

In return, the Government acknowledges that linguistic integration will depend considerably on the provision of adequate services. However, it is also a function of a concerted effort to promote the use of French, the openness of the host-society and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. Only under these conditions can the French language become part of the shared heritage of all Quebecers, whatever their origin.

The stature of French as the official language and the language of public life does not, however, mean that mastery of a common language involves linguistic assimilation. Indeed, as a democratic

society, Québec respects the right of individuals to adopt the language of their choice for private communication. Also, it considers that heritage languages are an economic, social and cultural asset for the whole population of Québec.

A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN WHICH
EVERYONE IS EXPECTED AND ENCOURAGED
TO PARTICIPATE AND CONTRIBUTE

Like all modern societies, to develop fully Québec needs the participation of all segments of its population in its economic, social, cultural and political life.

In line with the democratic ideal, Québec assigns the highest importance to the values of equal opportunity and social justice. Indeed, by encouraging equal access to resources, services and decision-making powers, our society wants to give all citizens of Québec an opportunity to contribute fully to its development.

The Québec Charter of human rights and freedoms, the oldest in Canada, and the *Declaration by the Government of Québec on ethnic and race relations* are in fact an affirmation of Québec's commitment to equality and its rejection of discrimination:

"Every person has a right to full and equal recognition and exercise of his human rights and freedoms, without distinction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, sex, pregnancy, sexual orientation, civil status, age except as provided by law, religion, political convictions, language, ethnic or national origin, social condition, a handicap or the use of any means to palliate a handicap."

"The National Assembly unanimously recognizes the principle of equal value and dignity of all human beings;" and "categorically censures all forms of racism and racial discrimination."

The democratic social contract implies full contribution and full participation in Québec life by immigrants and their descendants. Their degree of participation in the various aspects of society is indeed a major indicator of their level of integration.

This is why the host-society is entitled to expect newcomers to make the necessary effort to engage gradually in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Québec, using their abilities, their skills and their interests.

On the other hand, if immigrants decide to uproot themselves (always a difficult course), it is usually to maximize their chances for social mobility and to have access to a variety of advantages. These may be advantages that are not only material, but often of a different order — freedom or democracy — which the immigrant did not always enjoy in the society of origin. Thus, in search of a better life, immigrants can expect the host-society to provide them socio-economic support during the initial period and to back them up whenever they or their descendants confront institutional or social barriers that deny them equal access to employment, housing or various public and private services. Furthermore, immigrants can also expect the host-community to allow them, like all Quebecers, to help define the major orientations of our society.

A PLURALIST SOCIETY OPEN TO MULTIPLE INFLUENCES WITHIN THE LIMITS IMPOSED BY THE RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE NEED FOR INTERGROUP EXCHANGES

The traditional Québec society advocated a uniform cultural and ideological model to be shared by all Quebecers. But, modern Québec has for more than 30 years resolutely styled itself as a pluralist society. This has made it possible for citizens to freely choose their own lifestyle, opinions, values and allegiance to specific interest groups, within the limits defined by the legal framework. This in fact constitutes one of the accomplishments of the Quiet Revolution to which Québec citizens as a whole are most attached.

Québec thus has a dynamic culture which is consistent with its heritage, yet is constantly changing and always open to new influences.

The *Charter of Human Rights* affirms that "persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group." The support that Québec has given here for many years now reflects its commitment to pluralism.

Yet, Québec's position on intergroup relations is balanced. It aims to avoid extreme situations in which different groups would rigidly maintain their culture and their traditions of origin totally unchanged or unadapted and co-exist in mutual ignorance and isolation.

Indeed, our entire population assigns the greatest importance to the respect all Quebecers show for the democratic values defined in the Charter — notably those on equality of the sexes, the status of children and the censure of all discrimination based on race or ethnic origin. These values are the conditions that allow the diversity of our Québec society to flourish, while respecting individual rights.

However, the very success of the integration process demands that newcomers and Quebecers of all origins be open to intergroup exchanges. They need to acknowledge that all cultures are likely to be enriched by sharing. Also, it is desirable that everyone gradually develops a sense of allegiance to Québec society that transcends the inherited allegiances of the past.

The host-society is therefore entitled to expect immigrants, like all citizens, to respect the laws and values that govern it. This also implies putting down roots in their new society and getting to know and understand its history and its culture. Furthermore, Quebecers of every origin must contribute, according to their ability, to the cultural enrichment of the population as a whole and to the development of harmonious intergroup relations.

In return, the host-community must clearly express its appreciation of the contribution made by its new members and by

Quebeckers from the cultural communities. It must recognize that, like all Quebecers and within the same limits, they have the right to live according to their personal values and to contribute to the development of Québec culture. The Government has a responsibility to promote favourable attitudes towards immigration and diversity within the population. It must encourage greater recognition of the pluralist reality and support intergroup rapprochement.

All three aspects of this moral contract imply rights and responsibilities for both immigrants and the host-society. The parallel is a conscious one, because it underscores a fundamental principle: it takes two to tango.

The Government will publicize the conditions of this moral contract to immigration applicants and to Quebecers. Applicants will therefore be able to make an informed choice between Québec and other host-societies. Quebecers, on the other hand, will be better informed of the rights and responsibilities arising from the choices that they themselves, freely and proudly, have proclaimed as fundamental values.

THE ORIENTATIONS OF QUÉBEC'S POLICY ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

Québec's policy on immigration and integration is therefore based on three essential premises:

- Immigration is a key factor in development and an asset to Québec's demographic, economic, linguistic and socio-cultural future
- Immigration's contribution to these challenges is closely linked to integration and full participation of immigrants and their descendants in Québec society
- The success of integration depends on the respect from Quebecers of every origin for the social choices that govern modern Québec.

Parts II and III of this document discuss the objectives that the Government has set itself in immigrant selection and integration. They also describe the measures the Government intends to fully enhance the contribution of immigration to the growth of Québec and to ensure the integration of Quebecers of every origin into a pluralist, democratic, French-speaking society. From a wider perspective, however, the Government is basing its action on the following major orientations:

IN IMMIGRATION:

1. An immigrant selection process that contributes to development of a French-speaking society and a prosperous economy, yet respects Québec's values of family reunification and international solidarity.
2. A gradual increase in immigration levels based on Québec's needs and receptive capacity.

IN INTEGRATION:

1. The development of French-language instruction services and promotion of the use of French among immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities.
2. Increased support for an open host-society and for the full participation of immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities in Québec's economic, social, cultural and institutional life.
3. Measures aimed at developing harmonious intergroup relations among Quebecers of every origin.

*An immigration policy that contributes
to the development of a French-speaking
society and a prosperous economy*

**IMMIGRATION:
A HIGHLY-DEFINED SECTOR**

With the challenges of the future, the end-results of the immigration policy are imperative. They are to seek and use the demographic, economic, linguistic and socio-cultural contribution of immigration to develop Québec.

This statement, despite its apparent simplicity, will prove complex to achieve. Selecting immigrants involves choosing under certain constraints. Mainly, these include:

- Selection based on pools of potential immigrants around the world and the personal motives which underpin their decision to migrate
- The sharing of federal and Québec jurisdictions
- The criteria that Québec has defined for immigration, notably that of evaluating candidates based on their chances of successful settlement
- The need to reconcile the various objectives of this policy to achieve the best results.

We must therefore act in an environment that is both restrictive and rich in opportunity. It is backed by more than a decade of experience and the instruments developed for this.

**THE DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION MOVEMENTS**

Like Canada and other industrialized societies, Québec cannot control the direction, the scope or the diversity of international population movements. The motives for international migration reach beyond national boundaries. The movement of individuals around the world is always a function of major social, economic, demographic and political change. The pressures that result from this change are significant. Historically, population movements to which they give rise have shaped the settlement and development of vast territories.

Such phenomena are still important today. In a way, they are aided and accelerated by changing means of communication, information, transportation, economic trade, international cooperation.

International phenomena especially influence the composition of migration. The geopolitical context, characterized notably by economic inequalities between countries, is one. The population explosion in the Third World and the instability of various parts of the planet is another. Then, there are the limitations of potential pools of immigrant recruitment, especially for skilled workers and French-speakers. Finally, there are situations caused by armed conflicts or natural disasters.

The international images projected by many host-countries influence international migration for the individual. So do a whole series of factors, including the desire to improve one's economic condition, or to join relatives and friends.

As a counterpoint to world population movements and to individual motives, a selection policy ensures controlled access to the privilege represented by immigration to a new land. Thus, every country in the world rates their power in this area as important. The quantitative and qualitative control in selection practices in fact allows certain choices that reflect the prevailing social consensus in the host-society, but which also depend on the dynamics of international immigration. Thus, each country may offer its own answer to applications for immigration.

SHARING OF FEDERAL AND QUÉBEC JURISDICTIONS

In Québec, this control over migration movements is recent. Since immigration is a field where jurisdiction is shared with the federal government, it is not exclusive.

Since 1971, the Government of Québec has negotiated and concluded four successive agreements with the federal government to acquire powers to select immigrants who wish to settle in its territory.

The *Cloutier-Lang Agreement* (1971) assigned Québec officers abroad an information role. Thus, they could make immigration applicants aware of the distinct reality of Québec within Canada. The *Bienvenue-Andras Agreement* (1975) transformed this role to that of advisor to the federal authority for applicants wishing to come to Québec. In 1978, the *Canada-Québec Agreement on immigration and selection of foreign nationals* — better known by the

names of the ministers who signed it, Couture and Cullen — assigned a dominant role to Québec in immigration and allowed federal and Québec authorities to agree on their respective responsibilities. Finally, in early 1990, Québec and Canada signed a supplementary agreement to the Couture-Cullen Agreement. The object was to agree on definitions for selecting immigrants in the investors' sub-class and to specify selection procedures for these applicants.

With the Couture-Cullen Agreement, Québec acquired the power abroad, jointly with Canadian immigration services, to select those applicants wishing to settle permanently in its territory. It could also control temporary immigration, principally of workers and students. In permanent immigration, Québec issues selection certificates (*Certificats de sélection du Québec*). The federal government issues landed immigrant visas, after the standard health and national security inquiries. The agreement enabled Québec to set its own objectives on volume and components of the immigration movement destined for its territory while respecting the Canada Immigration Act.

However, the agreement also stipulated that control of borders, admission, on-site selection and recognition of refugee status remained under federal jurisdiction. Also, Canada and Québec have agreed that Québec's selection practices would follow the immigrant categories defined by the Canadian legislation — independent immigrants⁹, family members¹⁰ and foreign nationals in distressing situations¹¹.

⁹ Immigrants in the independent class are foreign nationals aged 18 and over who apply for a selection certificate, for themselves as principal applicant and for their accompanying dependents. Based on the nature and characteristics of their project, principal applicants may be designated as workers, entrepreneurs, self-employed workers, investors, assisted relatives or retired persons. Québec, like Canada moreover, may only apply its selection criteria, including linguistic criteria, decisively for this category of independent applicant. Hence the importance of this category which, thanks to family reunification, will also have a leveraging effect on the migratory flow as a whole in the medium and long-term.

¹⁰ Immigrants in the family-class are persons who are sponsored by a close relative in Québec, who is either a citizen or permanent resident. Eligible individuals essentially include the nuclear family, namely spouses, unmarried children, fiancés, parents, grandparents and children which the respondent intends to adopt. Also eligible are brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, grandsons and

granddaughters if they are unemancipated orphaned minors. This definition respects the consensus on the family in Québec, while limiting any abuse that might arise from a broader interpretation of the concept. Furthermore, extended family members are covered by a special program (assisted relatives) under the independent class.

¹¹ The refugee category consists of three sub-categories:

a) Refugees in the sense of the Geneva Convention, namely persons who, because they have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinions or membership in a certain social group, are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or residence;

b) Persons belonging to categories collectively designated because their distressing situation is analogous to that of refugees;

c) Other persons selected and admitted on humanitarian grounds by virtue of special measures or an individual selection process.

Moreover, since 1986, the Québec Government has been seeking constitutional recognition of Québec's exclusive powers on establishing the criteria, selecting independent immigrants and extending its powers to on-site selection¹². Similarly, Québec is seeking the guarantee of receiving a number of immigrants proportional to its share of the Canadian population, with the right to exceed this number by 5 per cent to maintain its weight within the Canadian Confederation. The Québec government holds that these minimal demands remain essential for an immigration policy the aim of which is to develop Québec as a distinct society.

QUÉBEC'S FUNDAMENTAL SELECTION PRINCIPLES

As a foundation for its selection practices, Québec declares its commitment to five fundamental principles. These reflect the consensus established among the population:

1. Québec's selection process must encourage permanent settlement of immigrants in Québec.
2. Québec's selection process is universal in its application. It does not discriminate on race, colour, ethnic or national origin, religion or sex.
3. Québec's selection of independent applicants is based on an evaluation of their chances of successful settlement in Québec.
4. Québec's selection process fosters family reunification.
5. Québec's selection process reflects its humanitarian traditions and thus is open to accepting persons in distressing situations.

These principles echo our respect for some of the fundamental values of our society, such as individual equality, the importance of the family, and international solidarity. They also affirm Québec's right and duty to select immigrants who will integrate with Québec and contribute to its economic, cultural and social development.

RECONCILING VARIOUS IMMIGRATION OBJECTIVES

The immigration policy must reflect the interests and values of Québec. Therefore, government action must contribute to achieving the major challenges of development — demographic, economic and linguistic. It must also respect the principles of family reunification and international solidarity on which there is a large consensus in our society.

¹² This claim by Québec is based on the increase in the number of immigration applications filed from Québec since the signing of the Couture-Cullen Agreement. Thus, between 1985 and 1989, on-site admissions of independent applicants accounted for approximately 11 per cent of total admissions.

The need to achieve a balance between all these objectives is one of the challenges of implementing a policy here. Indeed, taken to the extreme, each objective could prove contradictory to the pursuit of other challenges.

For instance, too much emphasis on the economic impact of immigration could create a preference for accepting businesspeople. (Given the current geopolitical situation, these come mainly from among non-French-speakers.) Yet, if employability were the sole criterion for selecting independent workers (especially during an economic slowdown), this would prevent the pursuit of a policy designed to increase immigration levels gradually and so redress Québec's demographics.

If a decision was made to encourage only French-speaking immigration¹³, there would be two choices. Less importance would have to be assigned to economic considerations, which would limit the advantages of immigration and the possibility of integrating the selected candidates. Alternatively, the volumes would have to be reduced according to limits of potential French-speaking candidates. Any intention of meeting the demographic challenge would then have to be abandoned.

In both cases, we would be forced to neglect the obligations and values of international solidarity. We would also still have to ensure family reunification. Yet, by its very nature, family reunification reflects the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the immigrants selected in the past, and does not tie in very closely with the economic objective.

If the demographic challenge were the sole aspect to be met, levels would have to be raised without considering the capacity for economic absorption and the ability to offer

the necessary services to integrate newcomers linguistically.

This is why a responsible selection policy needs arbitration among economic, demographic and linguistic objectives — and also limits beyond which they would become mutually exclusive. The Government considers that its commitment to family reunification and to immigrants in distressful situations is not incompatible with other objectives. This is based on the medium-term impact of the selection of independent applicants on the characteristics of persons in the family-class. It also looks towards improving control over the reception of refugees so as to fit in the needs of Québec society.

Immigration policy therefore aims at achieving five fundamental objectives:

1. To increase the proportion of French-speaking immigrants.
2. To maximize the economic impact of the selection of independent immigrants and of temporary immigration.
3. To support family reunification and international adoption.
4. To maintain and improve targeting of refugee reception.
5. To increase immigration volumes according to Québec's needs and receptive capacity.

¹³ The concept of French-speaking immigrant includes all immigrants who have some knowledge of French when they arrive in Québec, whether it be their mother tongue or a second language.

PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTS DEVELOPED BY QUÉBEC

To achieve these objectives, Québec relies on three categories of instruments, developed in recent years which translate into action its intention to control and guide immigration more effectively:

- **A network for selection abroad**
Managed jointly by the ministère des Affaires internationales (Ministry of International Affairs) and the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), Québec's selection network abroad, illustrated on the following map, includes 15 Services

d'immigration du Québec and one point of service in Nicosia. These services are divided to cover the major pools of potential migrants, in North America, South America, Europe and Asia. Also, mobile missions serve various points around the world, depending on the changing international scene, whenever permanent services are not available.

- **Counselling¹⁴ of immigration applicants**
Some 30 advisors are posted abroad to promote Québec's specific advantages to those wishing to settle here. This improves their chances of adapting to Québec. Various information documents about Québec have also been developed and others are in progress.

¹⁴ Counselling means all the information and referral activities provided by the Services d'immigration du Québec, to help applicants make an enlightened choice and prepare them for establishing in Québec.

Figure IX:
Map of Services d'immigration
du Québec



• **Adapted selection tools**

Among the tools developed, the most notable is the *selection grid*, which considers various factors likely to influence chances of settlement in Québec¹⁵, the *Guide d'emploi du Québec*, which ensures that selection is adapted to the needs of the labour market¹⁶, as well as the *Validation of Offer of Employment* and *Confirmation of Offer of Employment*, which are designed for special situations¹⁷.

While these instruments are not perfect — many of the intended actions are in fact designed to improve them — they do constitute the practical foundation for Québec's immigration policy in the short and medium term.

¹⁵ Each factor is worth a certain number of points and is based on the applicant's characteristics. These factors are: education (0 to 11 points); employment (0, 1 or 15 points, depending on the case); specific vocational preparation (2 to 10 points); professional experience (0 to 10 points); age (0 to 10 points); knowledge of French (0 to 15 points); knowledge of English (0 to 2 points); adaptability (0 to 22 points); a friend or relative residing in Québec (5 points).

Furthermore, a maximum of 8 points may be attributed for certain criteria. The spouse's knowledge of French (4 points), the spouse's profession (4 points) and children under the age of 12 (4 points). Bonus points are also allocated when applicants are sponsored by family members (15 to 30 points, depending on the family relationship and the status of the sponsor). The same goes for businesspeople (20 points for independent workers and 25 points for entrepreneurs or investors).

To be accepted, a candidate must have accumulated a total of 50 points if he belongs to the sub-class of "businesspeople" or if he has a validated offer of employment; if the job he plans to hold in Québec is listed in the *Guide d'emploi du Québec*, he must then accumulate 60 points. The required number of points in the sub-class "assisted relatives" is also 50. Retired applicants are evaluated according to their financial ability to pay for their own needs and those of their accompanying dependents. Furthermore, except for businesspeople and retired persons, the

criteria "employment" and "professional adaptability" are eliminatory: any applicant who fails to accumulate points for either of these factors is refused, regardless of the total number of points accumulated. In some situations, however, candidates who do not accumulate the required number of points or who have not accumulated points for the eliminatory factors, may be accepted by virtue of the derogatory provisions of the selection regulations. These provisions appear in section 18 (humanitarian cases) and 40 (applicants of exceptional interest to Québec not reflected in the selection grid) of the *Regulation respecting the selection of foreign nationals*.

¹⁶ Québec regularly identifies the types of professional qualifications likely to be in ongoing demand on the Québec job market in the years to come. This prospective reading of the changing job market allows selection, from those applying for immigration to Québec, of those candidates with the training and professional experience that meet the needs of the Québec economy in the near future.

The *Guide d'emploi du Québec* is divided into two parts:

- a list of professions for which job prospects in Québec are sufficiently good to justify selection of candidates headed for these professions;
- information on the professions to support counselling activities with the applicants and to further illuminate the advisor's selection process.

An applicant headed for a profession listed in the *Guide* and possessing a minimum of six months of experience in this profession is assigned one point under the "job" factor. The applicant will therefore be accepted if he accumulates at least 60 points on the selection chart, including a minimum of 15 points for the "adaptability" factor.

¹⁷ The *Validation of Offer of employment* is used to meet the labour needs of Québec employers. The aim is to find permanent solutions to immediate, well-identified labour shortages by bringing in foreign labour. Similar to the *Validation of Offer of Employment*, but limited to three requests per year, the *Confirmation of Offer of Employment* does not require the employer to prove the existence of a local labour shortage. The purpose of this measure is to encourage the influx to Québec of a large number of foreign nationals who, while they do not necessarily qualify according to the *Guide de l'emploi*, can nonetheless show that they have had a job offer from Québec.

INCREASING THE PROPORTION OF FRENCH-SPEAKING IMMIGRATION

A prior knowledge of French is a major asset to both the immigrant and to the host-society. It accelerates the applicant's integration, saving much of the effort that it takes to learn the host-language. Also it lightens the burden on Québec society, which does not have to support the immigrant's linguistic integration. This is why Québec's role in selection has always encouraged French-speaking immigrants.

This concern was first shown with the definition of the instruments needed to support an immigration policy. The importance of the knowledge of French on the selection grid was important, as was the allocation of resources within the selection network. Since 1987, an increase in the admission of independent immigrants, the implementation of special programs — such as those for workers selected according to the *Guide d'emploi du Québec* or the *Confirmation of Offer of Employment*¹⁸ — as well as the increase in productivity of the

Service d'immigration de Paris¹⁹ all have supported this important objective.

Recruiting and selecting French-speaking immigrants poses some complex challenges. First of all, French-speakers are a relatively limited proportion of immigrant pools. The three principal pools are Western Europe, North Africa and the Sub-Sahara. All of these are mainly served by Québec's Service d'immigration de Paris. The majority of persons with French as a mother tongue are found in Western Europe and the world total is only 65 million. However, this population is not inclined to migrate, given the economic growth and political stability of the European region. The political and economic context in Africa offers more of an incentive to migrate. But, French is largely only the second language of a minority of the population. Also, in all cases, Québec must ensure that selected candidates can be integrated into the job market.

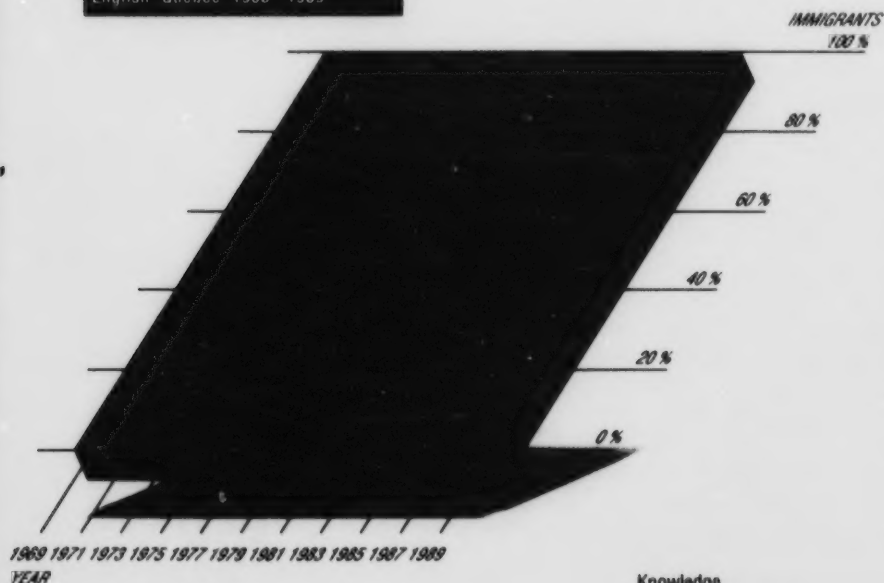
The dynamics of North-South relationships have created a strong trend towards diversification of the migratory flow in all western countries. This has contributed to the increased proportion of immigrants who speak languages other than French or English. Thus, across Canada the percentage of immigrants who speak neither French nor English went from 31.9 per cent for the 1968-1978 period to 54.5 per cent in 1979-1989. In Québec, the proportion of immigrants who speak neither French nor English has also grown: from 29.7 per cent to 42.1 per cent. As for immigrants with a knowledge of English, their percentage of the overall migratory flow to Canada has dropped considerably — from 66.4 per cent to 52.7 per cent for these same periods.

Finally, as Figure X shows, the proportion of French-speaking immigrants is subject to specific short-term variations. Generally, these reflect the world geopolitical context, notably in humanitarian immigration and movements of businesspeople.

¹⁸ Selection programs for workers chosen by virtue of the *Guide d'emploi* and by virtue of job attestations between 1987 and 1989, led to the selection of respectively 67 per cent (3,160 people out of 4,724) and 55 per cent (2,830 people out of 51,168) French-speaking immigrants.

¹⁹ From 1985 to 1989, the number of Québec selection certificates issued in Paris tripled, from 1,613 to 5,050. To achieve these results, the number of cases processed and approved had to increase 272 per cent.

Figure X:
Breakdown of immigrants according to their knowledge of French and English Quebec 1968-1989



Note : 1968 and 1969 : Czechoslovakian refugees
1973 to 1976 : Operation "Mon Pays" (regularizing on-site immigration applications predating 1976)
1975 and 1976 : Indochinese and Lebanese
1979 to 1981 : Indochinese refugees
1981 to 1983 : Regularizing Haitians
1986 and 1987 : Regularizing refugee claimants

Source : DER/MCCI.

Knowledge
of French and English
Neither French nor English
English only
French and English
French only

Given this relatively difficult situation, Québec's results in French-language immigration may therefore be termed appreciable. Indeed, Québec has managed to maintain the proportion of French-speaking immigrants at fairly equivalent levels for two decades — 34.9 per cent from 1968 to 1978 and 34.5 per cent from 1979 to 1989. Recently, the percentage of French-speakers decreased — 28.3 per cent in 1989 — but, their absolute number has continued to grow. Indeed, it almost doubled between 1984 and 1989. It now totals 9,518 people.

The proportion of French-speakers differs markedly with the class of immigrant. It is low among refugees, given their origins and has hovered at around 17 per cent for the last five years. In the family-class, the percentage has kept fairly close pace with the global percentage in the last five years — with an average of 32 per cent. For the independent class as a whole (workers and businesspeople), the percentage is 34 per

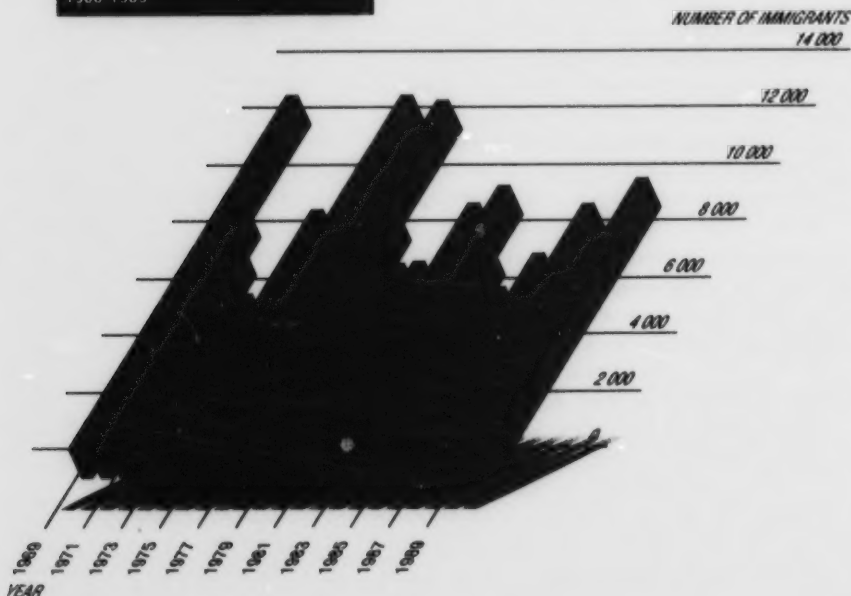
cent — 25 per cent among businesspeople, with a net downward trend during a recent selection which totals only 15 per cent and about 45 per cent among workers. It is therefore essentially through the worker sub-class that Québec achieves its results in French-speaking immigration.

In the coming years, the Government will not only maintain but increase the proportion of French-speaking immigrants, while ensuring that selected applicants will integrate into the job market. Based on an analysis of the potential pools and on the need to reconcile all the objectives of its selection policy, the Government considers that it would be realistic to boost the percentage of French-speakers to 40 per cent of the total flow by 1995. This objective may seem modest but it will require substantial effort. In fact, it would mean achieving a percentage of 45 to 50 per cent of French-speakers in the independent class. With workers, the proportion would have to grow to over 65 per cent²⁰.

To translate the Government's will into action, the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) recently introduced a series of measures that should have a significant impact on the volume of French-speaking immigrants in the medium-term. Among the most noteworthy is the signing of an agreement with the Office français des migrations internationales in 1989, to promote the settlement of French nationals in Québec. An office was opened in Nicosia to process applications from Lebanon and several special selection missions went to Maghrib.

²⁰ The objective of increasing the proportion of French-speaking immigrants does not mean that knowledge of English will no longer be encouraged. The selection grid will continue to assign a certain number of points for this factor.

Figure XI
Number of immigrants with
knowledge of French, Québec
1968-1989



Over the next few years, current efforts will be stepped up and diversified. The resources and productivity of the Services d'immigration du Québec based in French-speaking population pools will be increased. A dynamic recruiting strategy will be developed and efforts to adapt the selection tools to promote an increase in French-speaking immigration will continue. There will be steps to increase linguistic integration of non-French-speaking immigrants in all classes (family members, refugees, businesspeople and workers). These will continue to represent the majority of admissions in the medium-term. More standardized counselling will be provided for these target client groups.

Then, these specific measures will be advocated to **increase the proportion of French-speaking immigrants:**

- Increase the resources devoted to recruiting and selecting immigrants in the Services d'immigration du Québec serving the French-speaking population pools. This will aim at doubling the number of selection certificates (CSQ) issued by 1995
- Develop a dynamic recruiting strategy for French-speaking applicants who are likely to complete the selection process. This would include:
 - agreements with private or public organizations in French-speaking countries, and
 - prospecting missions, with prior advertising, to areas where the presence of Québec might elicit some demand
- Revise the selection grid for independent applicants to assign more weight to French as a factor in employability and professional adaptability
- Promote greater awareness among non-French-speaking applicants, of the French character of Québec, the importance of learning French and the various services available in this field.

**MAXIMIZING THE ECONOMIC
IMPACT OF SELECTING
INDEPENDENT IMMIGRANTS
AND OF TEMPORARY IMMIGRATION**

**INDEPENDENT IMMIGRANTS:
WORKERS AND BUSINESSPEOPLE**

Selecting immigrants of the independent class²¹ supports the development of a prosperous and dynamic economy. Indeed, people in this class who apply must be able to provide for their own needs, to become independent quickly and to settle successfully in Québec through their skills and ability to adapt. Immigration can also play an important role in manpower policy. It can help to increase economic activity by increasing consumption, among other things. The Québec selection process therefore assigns particular importance to economic immigration. It relates the applicants' socio-economic characteristics to the needs of the job market, notably with the instruments described.

In recent years, efforts devoted to recruiting and selecting independent immigrants have led to a significant increase in this movement in terms of the overall migratory flow, from less than 35 per cent in 1985 to 58 per cent in 1989. Notable success was achieved in the businesspeople sub-class which was developed in cooperation with the business community²² and which represents 22 per cent of total admissions. One of the aspects of this program, that affects stock investors, fostered the transfer of more than \$208 million in capital to Québec over three years. Aside from its direct impact on investment and business creation, the movement of businesspeople — who often bring with them innovative know-how and a network of international contacts — helps to revitalize the Québec economy in a free trade context.

Over the next three years, the Government intends to maintain the priority assigned to the independent class. It will maximize the impact of economic immigration, notably in

regions outside Montréal that would like to receive more immigrants. Recruiting of independent candidates will therefore be stepped up, notably among businesspeople, in conjunction with Québec's business community, to maintain the relative importance of this class within the migratory movement. Counselling on the job market and on starting a business in Québec will also be increased. Special importance will be given to sectoral and regional needs in this area.

Other measures specifically concern businesspeople and workers.

Businesspeople

There is evidence that many businesspeople head for other provinces the moment they arrive. It is difficult to evaluate the actual extent of this, because there is no complete data. But action must be taken with this client-group to ensure that it can settle effectively into doing business in Québec.

For instance, when studying business-creation plans more importance must be placed on prior knowledge of Québec society — notably whether a prospecting trip was made to the country by the business immigrant, to become aware of prevailing business conditions. Projects presented by businesspeople wishing to settle in the regions outside Montréal will also receive special attention. Québec's agents of economic development, especially those in areas outside Montréal, will be invited to host these businesspeople during their prospecting trips.

²¹ See note number 9 on page 23.

²² Movements of businesspeople can essentially be divided into three sub-classes: entrepreneurs, self-employed workers and stock investors. To be accepted, entrepreneurs and self-employed workers must file a business plan and participate actively in the management of the company in which they are investing. Investors are required to have an equity of at least \$250,000 with guarantees and \$500,000 without guarantees. Candidates must invest in a Québec-owned company, although they are not required to participate in its day-to-day management.

Because of the importance of the role they play, private consultants who help recruit businesspeople and develop business creation plans should be more aware of Québec's objectives. To correct abuses that have occurred in the past, the Government is also planning to exercise increased control over the practice of this profession. It will support the efforts already being made here by the consultants themselves.

Workers

Parallel to measures aimed at businesspeople, selection of workers must be adapted more to the needs of a changing economy.

The current economic situation and past experience are both incentives to review the selection criteria for candidates planning to work in Québec. These criteria currently focus on meeting the needs of the job market in Québec, notably through three aspects of the selection program: *Guide d'emploi du Québec*²³, the *Confirmation of Offer of Employment* and the *Validation of Offer of Employment*²⁴.

The merit of these selection modes is that they help fill immediate or foreseeable labour shortages. However, they have certain limitations in using the immigration of qualified workers to leverage economic growth. In fact, they are essentially based on the search of a match between the skills of the selected candidates and specific labour requirements. They can result in the outright refusal of the applicants whose qualifications and general profile could prove valuable to Québec, though they do not meet the needs identified on the job market.

The job market is in fact a segmented reality that is constantly evolving. Economic forecasting models are ill-equipped to define the overall shift with any precision or to identify all of the labour needs that arise from it.

We are seeing the internationalization of trade and rapid and frequent changes in the international division of labour. This demands equally quick redeployment of the means of production in the industrialized nations, notably in Québec. These necessary adjustments require a qualified labour force with a good general education that is versatile, able to hold the jobs of the future and even able to help create them.

The selection program for workers must therefore be adapted to better evaluate the various characteristics of the applicants, thus contributing flexibility and dynamism to the economy of Québec.

So, while maintaining the selection measures that focus on meeting the current needs of the job market, the Government also intends to supplement them. It will create an experimental program based on the candidates' potential for professional adaptability. Factors to be considered in the evaluation of professional adaptability will include candidate education, professional experience²⁵, the languages spoken, age, knowledge of Québec, personal qualities, and the existence of people domiciled in Québec who can support the immigrant in the job search. Among these factors, education and knowledge of French will be decisive.

²³ See note number 16 on page 27.

²⁴ See note number 17 on page 27.

²⁵ Under the concept of personal qualities, Québec's regulations essentially include leadership, a spirit of initiative, autonomy and professional versatility.

This experimental program will be introduced gradually. Its impact on the overall movement of workers will be evaluated. The success of the selected applicants in finding jobs in Québec will be carefully followed-up. If the results are positive at the end of the experiment, the Government will include this new approach in its selection program for workers. Because knowledge of French is decisive in evaluating professional adaptability, this experimental program will help increase the percentage of French-speakers.

Furthermore, selection based on offers of employment will receive more support. Notably, the Government will make sure that the company making the employment offer is actually able to offer the applicant the job. To promote the regionalization of immigration, candidates with offers of employment in the regions outside Montréal will receive special consideration.

More consideration will have to be given in the selection grid to the presence of children and the socio-professional characteristics of the spouses. This will better reflect the role played by the family in the retention of independent applicants and respect the increasingly marked presence of spouses on the job market.

To maximize the economic impact of the **selection of independent immigrants**, the principal measures adopted in the next few years will include:

- The development of recruiting activities, notably for businesspeople, by the departments concerned, working in concert with the business community of Québec
- Increased counselling on the job market and starting a business in Québec, while assigning special importance to sectoral and regional needs
- Assigning more importance to prior knowledge of the business sector in Québec and to the intention to settle in regions outside Montréal when evaluating business creation plans
- Development of partnerships with private consultants to associate them more closely with the recruiting objectives and to exercise more control over the practice of this profession
- Creation of an experimental program based on the professional adaptability and entrepreneurship of the applicants
- Better control over selection based on offers of employment — notably by making it compulsory for employers to supply bank confirmation of their company's operation
- Assigning more importance to the socio-professional characteristics of the spouse and the presence of children when selecting the principal applicants.

TEMPORARY IMMIGRATION

Along with selecting permanent immigrants, the admission of temporary workers is encouraged to meet labour shortages in such sectors as high technology, domestic work and seasonal farm labour. The Government is also encouraging the entry of foreign students. These contribute to the expansion of Québec's colleges and universities and help increase our international contacts.

In 1989, the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) issued 10,017 certificates of acceptance to temporary workers. Nearly 2,700 were domestic workers. A majority of foreign students (total 9,574) now attend French-language universities. Québec issues a certificate of acceptance to foreign students before the federal visitor authorization is issued. Québec also ensures follow-up and support of these students to help them adapt. Specific services are therefore available to them, dispensed by the ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et des sciences (Ministry of Higher Education and Sciences) and the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration).

Despite the powers conferred on it by the Couture-Cullen Agreement in temporary immigration, Québec does not exercise its full powers here. This is why the Government wishes to develop its practices on persons granted temporary entry. Specifically, it will evaluate the temporary workers' programs to ensure that they actually coincide with Québec's manpower needs. As recommended by the Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration in its recent brief on domestic

personnel²⁵, Québec will ensure its standards on minimum working conditions are met, especially on the less qualified, more vulnerable labour. Selection activities aimed at immigrants who have been granted temporary entry will be developed. Many of these people are good candidates, both for integrating and so for contributing to the economic and social progress of Québec.

Actions will be taken on temporary immigration:

- Programs aimed at temporary workers will be evaluated to ensure that they coincide better with Québec's manpower needs
- A sample contract will be developed that stipulates the working conditions for domestic workers. This will have to be signed by employers who wish to recruit such labour. Information activities will be developed to inform domestic workers of their rights and responsibilities at the time they are recruited in their country of origin
- Ongoing follow-up and support activities will be aimed at foreign students
- Recruitment and selection activities will be developed, aimed at those who have been granted temporary entry and would like to settle in Québec permanently.

²⁵ *Le personnel domestique: les conditions de travail et la protection législative, mémoire sur l'avant-projet de loi, Loi modifiant la loi sur les normes du travail et d'autres dispositions législatives*, submitted to the Commission des affaires sociales, January 1990.

SUPPORTING FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION

FAMILY-CLASS IMMIGRANTS

Keeping families together is one of the values espoused by Québec society — also it encourages immigrants to be permanent. This is why Québec has adopted this principle in its immigration policy²⁷.

Family-class immigrants²⁸ represented 36 per cent of all admissions between 1980 and 1988. In recent years, however, their proportion has stabilized at just under 30 per cent. Spouses and unmarried dependent children account for over 50 per cent; parents and grandparents are a third.

In the years to come, the Government will intensify its commitment to family reunification. It will concentrate on reducing the delays in processing family-class applications — which can take more than a year in some *Services d'immigration du Québec*. It will also develop activities that help prepare family members for integration into Québec society.

To encourage prompt socio-economic autonomy and integration of family members likely to join the labour force, the length of the sponsor's undertaking will be reduced to three years for spouses and children. Indeed, the current length of the undertaking (which no longer matches the reality of changing family ties within our society), has raised questions, notably, on its impact on the integration of sponsored women, as demonstrated in an opinion by the *Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* of the subject. Also, spouses and children are already protected by other laws.

The rising number of sponsored immigrants who need social assistance requires serious intervention. In fact, an answer must be found to the sometimes severe problems faced by these people — one that will prevent the irresponsibility of some sponsors from adding to the social assistance burden on the host-society. The level of the financial undertaking required from the sponsor will be re-evaluated to match a more realistic view of the cost of living in Québec. The Government already ensures that family members in Québec meet their many obligations to each other. In the

same way, the Government intends to introduce a mechanism that will ensure that the sponsor fulfils its responsibilities to family members. This meets the principle of sound management of public funds.

Parallel to these measures, the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will make sponsors more aware of both the actual scope of the commitment they are making and their responsibilities on the economic, linguistic and socio-cultural integration of their family members.

Five measures will be introduced in the **family-class immigration**:

- Delays in processing applications will be reduced, notably by introducing accelerated procedures
- Information and reference activities about Québec will be developed, specifically for family-class immigrants
- The sponsor's undertaking towards spouse and children will be re-evaluated to three years
- The sponsor's level of financial undertaking will be re-evaluated and a mechanism set up to ensure that it is respected
- There will be more intensive counselling of sponsors to make sure that they fully grasp the extent of their undertaking and the scope of their responsibilities on the integration of family members.

²⁷ Admission of immediate family members is authorized the moment an independent application is accepted. There is therefore no selection for the dependents accompanying the principal applicant, although a certain amount of counselling is available through the *Services d'immigration du Québec*, to facilitate their settlement in Québec. Should the immigration applicant fail to exercise the right to reunite the family when admitted, the applicant may subsequently request admission of spouse and unmarried dependent children. The applicant then makes a commitment to the Québec authorities which undertakes to be responsible for their basic needs and/or any support they need to adapt to Québec society over a 10 year period. If other members of the family are involved — parents, grandparents, fiancés — admission is furthermore conditional on an evaluation of the sponsor's financial means.

²⁸ See note number 10 on page 23.

INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION

International adoption meets the needs of some Québec families, but primarily it represents a humanitarian social act that reflects Québec's international solidarity. The attraction of international adoption in an immigration policy is considerable. Indeed, both in redressing the demographics and in linguistic and cultural integration, these young children represent a very interesting contribution to the host-society, with the support of families whose commitment is undoubted.

Since the early 1980s, the number of foreign children adopted every year has only averaged 250. Yet, the Secrétariat à l'adoption internationale (the secretariat for international adoption) reports a waiting list of more than 1,200 homes. The length of the process (occasionally more than five years), discourages some adoption applicants or forces them to resort to parallel routes, where both their rights and those of the child and family are not always respected.

To correct this situation, the Government recently passed amendments to the *Loi sur l'adoption internationale*. These will simplify procedures, help reduce delays and increase the number of cases processed each year. It also intends to use the resources of Québec's selection services in many parts of the world to help identify potential pools of adoptable children, under the laws and regulations of their countries of origin.

Principal measures to support the objective of **international adoption** include:

- Some Services d'immigration du Québec will collect and update data on potential pools of adoptable children and gather information on the laws and regulations of the countries of origin
- This information will be distributed to Québec parents interested in international adoption by the appropriate services of the ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (Ministry of Health and Social Services).

REFUGEES SELECTED ABROAD

Québec's wholehearted acceptance of international solidarity gives it the responsibility to take in people in distressing situations. Thus, in 1989, it admitted 7,710 people on humanitarian grounds²⁰ — 16 per cent of the total admissions for 1980-1988. The generosity and openness of the people of Québec towards people in particularly distressing situations was greatly obvious in 1980, with the arrival of so many Indochinese refugees who brought the percentage of this class to 36 per cent of the total migratory flow.

However, this major international undertaking cannot take place without certain guidelines. For instance, with Geneva Convention refugees and persons designated collectively (who represented over 70 per cent of the admissions on humanitarian grounds in 1989), Québec annually determines its own quantitative objective, along with the geographical sources of the people it intends to receive. This breakdown is based on an analysis of the world situation and the characteristics of those countries of origin likely to coincide with Québec's immigration objectives. Selection always takes into account the individual's capacity to adapt to Québec and the assistance offered to refugees by Québec residents through a variety of sponsorship programs. Québec has in recent years supported projects in refugee camps, notably the dispensing of French lessons, to smooth subsequent settlement in Québec.

In the coming years, refugee reception efforts will be maintained. Support for refugee integration will be stepped up.

First of all, the population will have to be made even more aware of the refugee reality. It is often ill-informed and confuses persons in distressing situations selected abroad with those who are part of the refugee claims backlog. So, the public

occasionally manifests fears about the scope and impact of this humanitarian movement. Because active public participation in welcoming the refugees has proven a major factor in their integration, the Government will be offering more support here to various groups and individuals. It will also promote the relevance of group sponsorship programs to encourage a broader participation by refugees in society as a whole. Finally, more emphasis will have to be placed on training and preparing the refugee camps for life in Québec, to the advantage of both the host-society and the refugee.

Principal measures to be taken on **refugees selected abroad** in the coming years:

- Public information and education tools will be developed on the world refugee situation and the criteria that govern Québec's selection of refugees, based on its receptive capacity
- Group sponsorship programs will be promoted to encourage reception of refugees by organizations, groups or individuals, with a special focus on efforts in regions outside Montréal
- The Fonds d'aide aux réfugiés (Refugees' Assistance Fund) will be reoriented and developed in order to offer priority support to projects that prepare potential applicants for integration in Québec.

²⁰ See note number 11 on page 23.

REFUGEE CLAIMANTS

Refugee claimants are mainly people who, upon unannounced arrival in this country, request that the federal authorities (who have the exclusive authority to grant refugee status) recognize them as refugees and admit them as permanent residents of Canada.

This movement has grown unexpectedly since the early 1980s. The number of claims filed in this country was 1,600 in 1980. By 1988, it had grown to over 40,000. Similarly, in Québec, these refugee claims totalled barely a few dozen in the early 1980s, but in 1988, they had grown to 14,000.

This notable increase, combined with delays generated by the federal government's application review mechanisms, led to a huge bottleneck in the processing system. Until 1989, processing could take up to

seven years. There were about 100,000 unprocessed cases, 35,000 of which were in Québec. To correct the situation, on January 1, 1989, the federal government proclaimed Acts C-55 and C-84³⁰ to discourage future unfounded claims by implementing a more effective and faster review procedure. In December 1988, it also announced the introduction of a program to encourage accelerated processing of the refugee claimant backlog³¹.

The dissuasive effects of these new measures have yet to be felt. Processing is still lengthy and the rate at which new claimants arrive has accelerated — especially in Québec where the average is now 800 cases per month. Backlog claims are being settled much more slowly than anticipated.

The position of the Government of Québec on refugee claimants is clear. It considers that the increase reflects in part the change of political climate in various parts of the world in recent years. The Government acknowledges that some of these applications are legitimate and wishes to continue to support those people who are truly in situations of distress.

However, Québec cannot allow those who wish to improve their economic position through immigration to bypass Québec's and Canada's regular selection procedures, when others from these countries accept and comply with them. Massive and frequent regularization of the status of individuals who are not selected detracts from reaching immigration policy objectives. It makes it especially difficult to plan the volumes and composition of the migratory flow to match Québec's priorities. The presence of some 35,000 individuals seeking refugee status, with access to various government services (such as health and

³⁰ Respectively *An Act to amend the Immigration Act, 1976 and to amend other acts in consequences thereof* passed October 21, 1987, and *An Act to amend the Immigration Act, 1976 and the Criminal Code in consequences thereof*, passed September 14, 1987.

³¹ This program, with which Québec is associated by an administrative agreement with the federal government, consists in an accelerated process that allows the Canadian Government to rule quickly on the claimants' right to landed status. It involves three stages. An initial examination determines whether there are considerations of a humanitarian nature or grounds of public interest. If so, applicants may immediately apply for permanent residence. If refused in the first instance, the applicants undergo an

examination to evaluate whether their claim has a credible basis. If so, these applicants also have the option of applying for permanent residence. However, applicants whose claims are not recognized as credible are subject to a removal order. Québec's officials become involved at this third level, prior to removal. Indeed, a final review will re-evaluate the existence of humanitarian grounds or public interest. At this stage in the process, Québec's intervention seeks to ensure that all relevant facts are considered on refugee claimants who are in Québec. Officials at the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration* make recommendations to this effect to the federal Minister of Employment and Immigration. The federal Minister then makes the final decision on on-site processing of requests for permanent residency.

social services, income security and education) is also exerting growing pressure on public finances. The capacity to receive refugees is not unlimited. Granting refugee status to individuals who apply here proportionately reduces the number of people in situations of distress who can be selected abroad in the camps where they are confined²².

This is why Québec can only approve the Government of Canada's decision to limit refugee claimants to cases of real distress. However, it regrets that federal action in the field has not so far met the hopes raised by Acts C-55 and C-84. The federal government must exert closer control over Canada's borders, ensure rapid processing of applications and assume more of the costs. These costs are now borne by the provinces, but are generated by a system for which the federal government is responsible. For its part, Québec wishes to increase its cooperation with the federal authorities to ensure that Québec's objectives form part of processing the backlog of cases based on an examination of humanitarian grounds or public interest. Québec will examine its own role in the support and follow-up of refugee claimants. It will seek to identify how it might dissuade those who are not truly in distressing situations.

Principal measures to be taken on **refugee status claimants** will include:

- Mechanisms will be established in co-operation with the federal government to ensure that Québec's selection policy objectives form part of the process of settling the backlog of refugee status claimants
- The annual plan for refugee reception will integrate the foreseeable number of refugee claimants regularized in Québec.

²² According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are currently 15 million refugees in the world whose distressing situation is confirmed.

**INCREASING IMMIGRATION
VOLUMES ACCORDING TO QUÉBEC'S
NEEDS AND RECEPTIVE CAPACITY**

In recent years, Québec has introduced a number of measures designed to increase immigration volumes according to its needs and receptive capacity.

Québec has begun to set immigration levels. Here it is consulting all of its socio-economic partners, as well as the Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration. It is also considering the economic and demographic context and the availability of services. It can then reach some consensus on immigration. This approach has allowed it to pursue a policy of gradual openness since 1987, based on increased volumes and priority assigned to the selection of immigrants of the independent class³³. In 1988 and 1989, reception goals were set at respectively 30,000 and 35,000. In 1990, a volume of between 38,000 and 40,000 admissions is forecasted.

To achieve these intended volumes, the various Services d'immigration du Québec have been allocated additional resources: \$2 million in two years. The services have thus been able to reinforce their approach, for example by organizing mobile selection missions, adapted to variations in the international context. Simplifying certain procedures, more effective management and increased automation have also helped increase network productivity.

In 1989, Québec welcomed 33,602 immigrants — a 30 per cent increase over 1988 admissions. The independent class has grown even more significantly with a 34 per cent increase. These results are of the same order as those achieved during the post-war period. Then, the annual average was

25,391 admissions, peaking at 34,425 between 1966 and 1970 and 33,236 between 1951 and 1955. The largely positive migratory balance that resulted, combined with a slight rise in the number of births, allowed Québec to increase its population by 1 per cent in 1989, the largest increase since 1968.

In the coming years, the Government plans to maintain a sustained and realistic growth in immigration. Indeed, both the demographic challenge and the economic and linguistic objectives of the policy require stepped-up efforts here. At the same time, even more than in the past, selection and integration will have to be closely coordinated to ensure that forecast levels match Government efforts and be supported by the public consensus, the economic climate and the availability of services. Government efforts will be supporting the development of data banks and more precise performance indicators to improve follow-up of the immigrant clientele at various stages of the selection and integration processes.

To encourage flexibility in setting immigration levels and to ensure that selection and integration efforts more closely match projected volumes, multi-year planning of reception intentions will be adopted, with an annual adjustment. This will allow an appropriate emphasis on the public consultation process. Being less frequent and therefore less cumbersome, the process could be deepened and better structured. Yet, being part of a longer-term outlook, it will also more closely match the complex and dynamic reality of the selection and integration processes.

³³ See note number 9 on page 23.

For 1992, 1993 and 1994, the hypothesis submitted for public consultation will be that of sustained and realistic growth in immigration levels. The Government will also continue to assign priority to the independent class. This class should in fact represent between 55 per cent and 65 per cent of the total, 20 to 25 per cent of which will consist of the sub-class businesspeople. These figures will be revised annually as needs and receptive capacity are evaluated.

With this gradual increase, the Government is seeking to ensure the growth of Québec's share of the international immigration destined for Canada. At 17.7 per cent in 1989, this remains well below our demographic weight within the Canadian whole. In fact, in recent years, the volumes achieved across the country — 190,000 admissions in 1989 — have consistently surpassed the intentions of the federal government. This has prevented any volume gains made by Québec from translating into an increase in its relative share of immigration to Canada. It will therefore be important to work in concert with the federal government to ensure better short-term coordination of Québec and federal planning and, in the longer-term, to achieve an objective of 25 to 30 per cent of Canadian immigration. Québec has set itself this objective, but it will continue to determine its levels according to its own needs and receptive capacity, thus controlling the pace at which it achieves its aims.

Despite the progress already achieved, additional efforts are needed to reach the fullest effectiveness of operations abroad. This is why the ministère des Affaires

internationales (Ministry of International Affairs) and the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) recently evaluated the network of Services d'immigration du Québec to identify and implement various measures to get the best performance. Specifically, the configuration of the network and the resources devoted to each of the Services d'immigration will have to be reviewed against the objectives of the selection policy and the changing international scene, notably in eastern Europe. Efforts to develop various recruiting strategies will also have to be intensified.

The main actions to be taken over the next three years to **increase immigration volumes** will be:

- A multi-year plan will be adopted for reception intentions, based on public consultation and combined with an annual review mechanism, which will propose a sustained and realistic increase in levels for the years 1992, 1993 and 1994
- Concerted action will be developed with the federal government to ensure effective growth of Québec's share of immigration to Canada
- The configuration of the Services d'immigration du Québec network and the resources allocated to it will be readjusted to match the objectives of the immigration policy and changes on the international scene
- Current efforts to increase the productivity of the Services d'immigration du Québec will be pursued
- Recruiting strategies will be developed, notably mobile missions adapted to fluctuations in the international situation.

*A common language, full participation
and harmonious intergroup relations:
the guarantees of successful integration*

**INTEGRATION: A COMPLEX AND
DYNAMIC PROCESS WHICH CALLS
ON THE ENTIRE HOST-SOCIETY**

"Integrating" means becoming an integral part of a collectivity. This is why an integration policy is always defined according to the prevailing model of relationships between the citizens of a society.

In integration, the general orientations that guide Québec's actions were clearly expressed in the first part of this statement. The highlights are:

- Sharing French as the common language of public life in Québec society
- The right and the duty of all citizens, regardless of their origin, to participate and contribute fully to the economic, social, cultural and political life of Québec
- The commitment to building a pluralist society in Québec, within which citizens of all cultures and all origins can identify themselves and be recognized, as full-fledged Quebecers.

From these principles arises the moral contract that must bind Quebecers of every origin and on which are based the three major fields of activity of the integration policy — learning and use of French, participation and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. In this chapter we discuss these three fundamental aspects. It states specific objectives for each, outlines the Government's plan of action and defines the principal measures scheduled for the next three years.

Beyond these fundamental dimensions, Québec's policy is based on the major characteristics of the integration process as it currently exists in Québec and in other societies. Moreover, Québec's own particular challenges make implementation all the more complex. These special challenges include the socio-linguistic dynamics, the

novelty of integration with the French-speaking community, the increase and the diversification of immigration, as well as the sharing of powers with the federal government.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
INTEGRATION PROCESS**

- Integration affects every aspect of community life
- Integration requires both the commitment of the immigrant and that of the entire host-society
- Integration is a long-term process of adaptation which unfolds at varying rates.

**The integration process affects
every aspect of community life**

Integration into a brand-new community means the immigrant must adapt to the community life of the host-society as a whole. The immigrant must also develop new social ties according to rules and values, often different from those that prevail in the society of origin. The immigrant and the descendants therefore face a variety of challenges to which they must respond simultaneously if they are to ensure themselves a harmonious linguistic, cultural, socio-economic, institutional and personal integration.

Adjustments in integration include learning and mastering the host-language, familiarizing oneself with the current cultural codes of the new society and redefining one's identity to reconcile these values with those of one's original culture. Fitting in in socio-economic terms will be more or less easy depending on the immigrant's background and the structure of the host-society. This represents another major challenge for the new arrival. Finally, the immigrant must deal with a variety of more or less welcoming institutions. These will often operate on different standards than those in the country of origin. There will also be the need to develop interpersonal relationships that transcend cultural or racial barrier. These are some of the challenges of integration.

Because all the dimensions of integration are interrelated, successes or obstacles encountered on one level will help or hinder others.

Thus linguistic integration largely depends on entering into a socio-economic milieu, attendance of the institutions of the host-society and the quality of interpersonal relationships between the immigrant and children and members of the host-society. Indeed, these three dimensions influence both the immigrant's attitude towards the language and opportunities to speak it. If the immigrant does not work, or works in an employment ghetto, is ill at ease with the host-institutions and has no friends, there will be little opportunity to master the common language.

Similarly, aside from elements specific to this dimension, successful socio-economic integration requires mastery of the host-language as an integrative tool, familiarization with the cultural codes that underpin official and other relationships within the host-society and a context of intergroup relationships that promote the equality of all citizens.

Finally, the best efforts to promote and develop harmonious relationships between citizens of various origins will remain in vain unless they can communicate among themselves, through a common language, or unless they can participate adequately in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the host-society.

This is why the three major focuses of government action in integration — learning and use of French, participation and the development of harmonious intergroup relationships — must be considered essential and interdependent elements. Indeed, most measures to resolve short-term problems are likely to have a long-term effect on the achievement of other policy objectives.

Successful integration requires not only the commitment of the immigrant but that of the entire host-society

The multi-dimensional and "integrated" character of the integration process largely conditions the effectiveness of any action here.

First, it demonstrates clearly that, even though the immigrant is still mainly responsible for integration, the host-society as a whole, through its commitment and openness, must support the process. Indeed, integration presupposes a dual consent — that of the immigrant to participate fully in the community and that of the host-society to open itself up to the immigrant's participation and to support it. Measures aimed at integration thus affect both the host-society and the immigrant.

Because of the extent and complexity of the challenges of life in society, Government action is no substitute for the social dynamism needed for full participation in community life and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. It must therefore promote social dynamism wherever it exists and contribute to its emergence wherever it is missing.

Unlike actions that are taken in selection (and these are a part of a guided and controlled process), intervention in integration may, in a way, appear modest and somewhat sparse at the outset. The reason is that an integration policy has to be based on multiple activities, adapted to diverse milieux. These are likely to have a short, medium and long-term catalytic effect on the society as a whole. Measures aimed at developing harmonious intergroup relations — which by their nature can only support the initiatives and goodwill of individual citizens — especially illustrate this fact.

Successful action in integration thus requires the cooperation of all the partners — public, private and community — especially those in the cultural communities. These often play an essential role with immigrants and their descendants. Also, the support of the entire population is vital. These partners must act in concert to ensure the convergence of actions taken in various milieux. The Government therefore assigns particular importance to measures of coordination of Government action and concerted action between the partners.

Integration is a long-term process of adjustment, that occurs at different rates

One might think that integration is a short-term objective that is quick and easy to plot. However, an examination of integration as it actually occurs for the immigrant reveals an entirely different reality. Integration is above all a dynamic process that occurs over time. It is not necessarily linear and it requires a long-term commitment by both the immigrant and the host-society.

In fact, the integration process is above all made up of individuals. They may still be immigrants or already citizens, but they have their own needs and rhythms, due to both the assets they bring when they arrive and the obstacles that they must overcome. It may also depend on whether they belong to different sub-groups that are experiencing particular difficulties within the host-society. Examples are visible minorities, women and individuals with little education or income. Thus, there are no predefined stages that apply to all immigrants and which all have to go through, at the same pace.

Integration may happen faster on some levels than on other. This results in ambiguous situations, difficult to live with for the individuals caught up in them. Some immigrants — and often, even their descendants — may integrate economically but still be marginalized socially. The reverse is also possible. They may have mastered the host-language and have friends among the majority group. Yet, they may be victims of discrimination on the job market or in various public settings.

There is no general rule on how long integration takes. But it is estimated that initial adjustment to daily life generally occurs within a few years. However, true mastery of the language, full participation in community life — specifically its more

complex aspects, such as political or cultural life — and the development of a sense of belonging to the host-society takes much more time. These may not be fully achieved until the second or third generation, although this is not a failure of the process.

The Government therefore intends to adapt to a diversified reality. This ranges from very rapid integration to integration over many decades. The Government plans to base its action on a context that goes beyond strict legal categories, such as immigrants and Canadian citizens. The measures provided in the integration policy are therefore aimed at both immigrants and their descendants, as long as these continue to feel the need for support to participate fully in certain areas of community life.

UNIQUE CHALLENGES FACING QUÉBEC IN INTEGRATION

Like all societies that receive immigrants, Québec must introduce a variety of measures if it is to reach its objective of harmoniously integrating immigrants. However, because of its specific situation and its development needs, Québec faces additional challenges that require an increased commitment on its part. Three of these challenges deserve special mention:

- The socio-linguistic dynamics
- The novelty of integration with the French-speaking community
- The context of higher immigration levels and diversifying the migratory flow.

The socio-linguistic dynamics

Despite the positive trends of recent years in language proficiency among immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities, the status of French as the common language of communication between Quebecers of all origins must continue to be supported.

In fact, several key elements justify more determined and concerted action than in other socio-linguistic contexts. These are the minority position of a French Québec within Canada and North America, the role that English still plays as the language of work and the impact of past anglicization of certain communities on the linguistic choices of newcomers.

These elements illustrate the complexity of socio-linguistic dynamics in Québec. They also highlight the need to send immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities a message about the importance of French. This should be correctly perceived as a message about belonging to Québec society. Here more than anywhere else, linguistic integration will depend on French-speaking Quebecers' pride in their language and their openness to others.

The novelty of integration with the French-speaking community

We are a society that has been receiving immigrants for more than a century. So it may seem paradoxical to list the integration of immigrants and their descendants among our newest problems. Nonetheless, it is a major shift from the past to identify the French-speaking community and its institutions as the pivot for integrating newcomers and gaining the full participation of the cultural communities. The recent character of integration with the French-speaking majority — which has only been at issue for some 20 years — makes the task ahead of us in this area in Québec even more complex.

Most western societies were able to develop expertise with immigrant populations from cultures similar to that of the majority before immigration began to diversify²⁴. By contrast, Québec's institutions now have to adapt simultaneously to this dual reality. To enable Québec to develop gradually the expertise that is adapted to its situation, the integration policy will have to prove more flexible and more dynamic than anywhere else. Initially, Government intervention will rely heavily on exploratory formulas and diversified pilot projects, which could serve as a basis for defining more and more uniform official practices.

Yet, the affirmation of the French Fact creates a situation in which the relationship between length of settlement and degree of integration must be even more finely nuanced. Québec must not only meet the needs of newcomers. It must also do some "catching up" to ensure full participation in today's society by individuals from the older, more established communities. Indeed, without specific measures for these groups, we run the risk of condemning

individuals to a permanently marginal situation, when they should not have to shoulder the responsibility for the prevailing climate when they first arrived in Québec.

A context of higher immigration levels and diversification of the migratory flow

These two realities — the socio-linguistic dynamics and recent experience — are distinctly Québécois in nature. But the integration policy must also recognize the quantitative and qualitative evolution of the migratory flow.

The need to meet the demographic challenge is commanding a gradual increase in the number of immigrants over the next few years. Québec's institutions and the host-society as a whole will therefore have to ensure the integration of an increasingly large immigrant population. However, since the objective of higher levels depends on receptive capacity, it will be reached at a pace that allows Québec to develop some expertise in integration. Already, pilot projects and other exploratory formulas are paving the way here.

Yet, the current geopolitical situation is leading all countries involved in immigration to diversify the migratory flow. This is consisting more and more of immigrants of different races and non-western cultures. This is a notable change. In Québec the proportion of immigrants of European origin went from over 61 per cent in 1968 to approximately 20 per cent in 1989. This is not a problem in itself. Indeed, these people are just as likely to integrate successfully as those from traditional immigration pools.

²⁴ In spite of this relative advantage, it should be noted that, both in Europe and in North America, the diversification of immigration poses special challenges and is leading many countries to develop new integration policies.

However, it does take more effort to adapt institutions to the needs of clients whose cultures, values and customs may be different from theirs. Furthermore, although Quebecers are generally willing to share their daily lives with people from different races, the emergence of an increasingly multi-racial society will also require more effort to counter discrimination and racism firmly.

THE POWERS NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT THE INTEGRATION POLICY

To meet these challenges, Québec can rely on the powers that it already has in all areas of society, notably in education, health and social services and cultural development. In fact, Québec has been using these powers more and more in the last two decades to encourage the integration of immigrants and the participation of Quebecers of all origins in a pluralist, French-speaking society.

To align all action in integration of newcomers with Québec's objectives, Québec has since 1986 been demanding exclusive control over immigrant reception services and their cultural, linguistic and economic integration, along with reasonable financial compensation. This is essential to oversee newcomers' reception in a way that respects Québec's distinctiveness — notably by ensuring the linguistic security of our society and its development on every level.

Finally, the Government considers that full and complete participation by Quebecers from the cultural communities and the development of harmonious intergroup relations are essential components of an integration policy. This is why Québec intends to ensure that its distinctiveness is recognized in actions arising from the

federal policy on multiculturalism, which are not always in line with Québec's priorities. Indeed, while both governments share certain common concerns — notably in the promotion of equality, the struggle against racism and the adaptation of institutions — it is essential to avoid any duplication of action and to ensure that Québec's social choices are respected.

In developing and fully exercising all the powers needed to implement the integration policy, the Québec Government will ensure that its various objectives on learning and use of French, participation and intergroup relations are met. Thus, immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities will be able to make their just and full contribution to the development of Québec.

Knowledge and use of the common language of public life are decisive in integrating immigrants and their descendants. Indeed, language is the tool that breaks up isolation — it makes communication and participation possible. It is therefore a priority in all countries with immigration. The efforts that Québec must make are even more important and more crucial because of its special linguistic position.

Acquiring and mastering a new language by non-French or non-English newcomers depends on quality instruction in the initial or more advanced training in French that is needed. This will also be true of Quebecers from cultural communities who have not mastered French. The accessibility and quality of French language instruction will have to be significantly increased, both for the newly-arrived adult and students and the clientele from the older, more established communities.

The best services cannot guarantee the mastery of French by Quebecers from the cultural communities, if Québec society does not reflect, in every aspect of its community life, the prime importance that it assigns to the status of French as the language of communication among its citizens. Today, it has largely been proven that acquiring a new language requires the teaching services, the sustained motivation of the student and regular daily practice. This is why it is essential to uphold major

efforts already being made by immigrants and Quebecers from cultural communities in learning French, with support of French as the language of public life and the language of work.

The objectives in linguistic integration are:

6. To increase the accessibility and quality of French language instruction services for immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities.
7. To develop the use of French among immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities.

INCREASING THE ACCESSIBILITY AND QUALITY OF FRENCH- LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION SERVICES

This first objective is aimed at three target clienteles — adult newcomers, adults from the cultural communities and school-age immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities.

SERVICES FOR ADULT NEWCOMERS

Developing proficiency in the common language in the first few years after arrival will have a strong impact on the immigrant's progress within the host-society. Also, a quick initiation to French will influence subsequent language choices. The Government realizes that mastering French may often take more than a generation. So it wishes to assign particular importance to the accessibility and quality of services for adult newcomers, nearly 70 per cent of whom know no French when they first enter the country.

The late 1960s were marked by the creation of the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of

Cultural Communities and Immigration) and by the introduction of the first Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFI — immigrant training and orientation centres). Efforts here have since been consistent. The Ministère has therefore consolidated its network, which today consists of eight COFI, three of which are in regions outside Montréal. It has also developed special expertise in teaching adult immigrants.

Until 1987, the federal government's national training program, the Employment National Training Program³⁵, represented the sole source of funding. This limited the supply of full-time courses for people headed for the job market who did not already know one of the country's two official languages. To reach clienteles excluded from this program — notably women not headed for the job market — the Québec Government, in 1987, created two new programs: the *Programme québécois de francisation des immigrants*³⁶ and the *Programme d'aide à la francisation des immigrants*³⁷. In 1989-1990, Québec devoted some \$5.3 million to these programs. Québec's share of the financing of French language instruction for newcomers has therefore continued to grow, from 5 per cent in 1985 to 14 per cent in 1990.

In recent years a variety of formulas have been introduced for part-time instruction³⁸, through the COFI or in cooperation with school boards and community organizations. This has also increased the accessibility of services, notably for the clientele already on the job market.

³⁵ The Employment National Training Program (ENTP) — a federal program under the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission — is part of the employment planning strategy. In Québec, it is governed by the Canada-Québec Agreement on institutional training, an agreement by which Canada undertakes to fund certain training activities and Québec, to carry them out. The ENTP is a full-time training program, consisting of 25 hours a week for a period of 30 weeks. Trainees are entitled to a weekly living allowance, which varies according to the number of dependents, plus a daycare allowance. In 1989-1990, 3,800 immigrants took part in this program. Close to 30 per cent of the courses thus dispensed were funded through a bilateral agreement other than the Canada-Québec Agreement on institutional training. The clientele registered in this program represents 59 per cent of the COFI clientele.

³⁶ The *Programme québécois de francisation des immigrants*, entirely financed by Québec, is for all immigrants wishing to learn French on a full-time basis and who, for various reasons, are not eligible for the federal program. The target clientele is mainly women not destined for the job market. The trainees, who are reimbursed for their childcare expenses, also receive a monthly living allowance. In 1989-1990, a total of 878 people benefited from this service.

³⁷ The *Programme d'aide à la francisation des immigrants* is designed to provide financial aid to non-government organizations that assume part of the responsibility for the linguistic integration of immigrants. The *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* will cover the teaching and childcare costs for children under the age of six. The organization must hire the necessary staff, recruit the students, organize the classes and provide the space and materials. The program is aimed at three priority clienteles: women, illiterates and visible minorities.

³⁸ Part-time courses are divided into four categories: **night courses**, whose clientele consists mainly of workers; **specialty tailored courses**, designed to meet the specific needs of certain clienteles; **refugee claimant courses**, for refugees who are ineligible for other programs of the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* and, finally, **courses sub-contracted to school boards**, which add to the services provided in metropolitan areas and ensure the provision of services in areas where the Ministère is not represented.

Since 1986, Québec has been seeking exclusive control over linguistic integration of immigrants. This is essential to permit the development of a unified approach better adapted to the needs and objectives of the distinct society. The French character of Québec and the status of French as the common language are particularly important in defining eligibility for full-time programs that now exclude those immigrants who speak English.

In the coming years, the Government intends to correct some of the weaknesses, so as to improve the quality of French instruction services and make them more accessible.

To begin with, because services of the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) currently reach only 40 per cent of their potential clientele²⁰, their accessibility will have to be increased by reducing the delay in registering for full-time courses and by increasing the supply of services. Additional efforts will therefore be made to ensure access to French courses for all interested adult newcomers.

These are improvements to existing services. The instruction formula will also have to be adapted to the particular situations of immigrant life to reach a larger proportion of the potential clientele. A thorough evaluation of the services for adult immigrants, undertaken in 1990, will help identify future avenues. Various formulas will also be explored through pilot projects in a variety of milieux and with a variety of special clienteles.

The Government is first attempting to reach immigrants who found jobs the moment they arrived. This is desirable to both the host-society and immigrants

themselves. These immigrants do not have as much time to devote to learning French as those who are job hunting or those who are not destined for the job market. They are therefore less attracted to full-time courses, since the allowance can never match their wages. To reach this clientele, the Government will therefore develop more flexible formulas. These will involve the workplace, in collaboration with representatives of the business community. For businesspeople, formulas will be developed which combine French language instruction with an initiation to the economic realities of Québec.

The school is a place visited spontaneously by many immigrant parents, particularly housewives, a target clientele, which is often difficult to reach. So it will be appropriate to develop closer ties between student and adult services. Pilot projects will be developed for immigrant parents through the schools their children attend. To serve clienteles that have dispersed to regions outside Montréal, certain school boards will explore the possibility of dispensing the "mesures spéciales d'accueil" (special reception measures) at home rather than at school.

Finally, applicants for immigration who have already been selected by Québec represent an undeveloped pool of potential clients. The Government therefore intends to introduce pilot projects in learning French in some countries of original residence and in some refugee camps.

²⁰ In 1989-1990, the number of permanent residents who benefited from French instruction services totalled 6,478, 4,678 of whom were full-time and 1,800 part-time. Given a potential clientele of 16,863, the rate of access to language instruction is estimated at 38.4 per cent. What is more, 22,193 refugee status claimants were also able to attend part-time classes. Given that the number of adult claimants who know no French is estimated at 36,070, the rate of access to language instruction for those asylum-seekers is therefore 61 per cent. However, the attendance rate depends not only on the supply of services, but also on demand determined by various socio-economic factors.

The Government anticipates that all of these measures — combined with those aimed at making immigrants aware of the French character of Québec and those related to its language policy — will increase attendance of the various programs by half within three years — from the current 40 per cent to 60 per cent by 1994.

Then, there is quality of instruction. Despite the valuable educational activities through the COFI in the last two decades, pedagogical development is needed to produce programs that are better adapted to the needs of the clientele. These will cover learning French and integrating with Québec society. Also, we must ensure more uniform evaluation of progress. The instruction dispensed by community organizations subsidized by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) must also be monitored to make sure they meet quality standards.

The principal actions to be taken in **services for adult newcomers** over the next three years include:

- The supply of French instruction services will be increased, with shorter registration delays
- The English-speaking clientele will get access to a full-time program equivalent to that serving those non-French-or-English-speaking immigrants destined for the job market.

The federal government should fund this second measure. It is currently responsible for the full-time French instruction program for immigrants destined for the job market. The learning of French, of course, remains a strategic point, at the very core of the distinctiveness of Québec. Evidently, English-speaking immigrants should

not be excluded from this program and the Government of Québec will seek to obtain the necessary funds.

Other measures will support the achievement of this objective:

- The supply of services will be evaluated to increase their accessibility and enhance their impact on the potential clientele
- New formulas will be explored through pilot projects in a variety of milieux and with a variety of particular clienteles:
 - in countries of origin
 - in schools
 - in the workplace
 - with clienteles in regions outside Montréal
 - with businesspeople
- Efforts in pedagogical development will be stepped up — notably to design and implement instructional programs that focus on integration with Québec society and are adapted to the needs of certain target clienteles.

SERVICES FOR ADULTS FROM THE CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

Following the changes in Québec since the early 1960s, knowledge of French among Quebecers from the cultural communities has continued to grow. In 1961 only 45 per cent of the non-French or English-speaking foreign-born population⁴⁰ reported a knowledge of French. This percentage increased to 65 per cent by 1986. Furthermore, 77 per cent of the non-French or English-speaking population born in Québec can now speak French. These favourable results also reflect the changing attitudes toward learning French. According to a recent survey commissioned by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), close to 80 per cent of Quebecers from the cultural communities now consider knowledge of French a requirement for their integration in Québec.

⁴⁰ This category may refer to persons born abroad who have migrated to Québec a long time ago.

Nonetheless, a significant number of Quebecers from the cultural communities still do not speak French. Many reasons have nothing to do with the individual's willingness, but rather they concern the specific circumstances that prevailed when they first arrived in Québec. Noteworthy are the lack of French instruction services for adults and the lack of welcome to French-language schools for non-French-speaking immigrant students. These persisted well into the 1960s. There is also the ethnic segmentation that still characterizes the Montréal job market today.

From the 1986 census, there are some 123,000 of these people. Close to 40,000 know neither French nor English and risk living painful lives of isolation and dependency. Especially vulnerable is the population of non-French or English-speaking women. They often work at home or in economic sectors such as the textile or garment industry. Here heritage languages dominate. Thus, the proportion of women who do not speak French totals 40 per cent, whereas the percentage is only 29 per cent among non-French or English-speaking men. This clientele has access to numerous French as a Second Language courses, offered to non-French-speaking adults through a variety of school boards in continuing education programs dispensed by the ministère de l'Éducation du Québec (Québec Ministry of Education). But, there are few measures designed to meet their special needs and few specific strategies to reach them.

The initial COFI training for newcomers is designed to help them function on a daily basis, not to ensure their mastery of the French language. Most of the time it is even inadequate, without special support, to bring them to the level required to register

for courses in French. These lead to professional certification or training, designed for the regular clientele attending the continuing education programs of the ministère de l'Éducation (Ministry of Education). The need for advanced language training is also often felt by Quebecers from the more established cultural communities. They have a basic knowledge of French but often do not have the prerequisites to continue their education consistent with their personal or professional expectations.

Actions to be taken on **services for adults from the cultural communities** over the next three years will focus on:

- The supply of courses for adults from the cultural communities who have not had an opportunity to learn French will be increased
- The needs of Quebecers from the cultural communities for continuing education services will be met — notably by offering French make-up programs for the clientele that does not have the necessary linguistic prerequisites to enter the regular stream
- French-language correspondence courses will be broadcasted by national or ethnic media and will specifically reach groups in isolated situations
- Pilot projects will teach French in the workplace to workers from the cultural communities.

STUDENT SERVICES

Since the first "classes d'accueil" opened in 1969, initial language training efforts for newcomers of school age have been ongoing. They represent about 20 per cent of total immigration. The outlook is largely positive.

In 1988-1989, nearly 9,000 students attended full-time "classes d'accueil" given by 17 school boards⁴¹. In areas where their numbers are smaller, close to 3,000 have benefited from "mesures spéciales d'accueil" designed to help them join the regular stream directly. The Government's commitment here exceeds \$18 million a year. What is more, a recent increase in the budget for the "mesures spéciales d'accueil", has helped improve the integration of immigrant students in regions outside Montréal. Also, given the increase in the number of under-educated students or students from language communities that are unrelated to French⁴², the ministère de l'Éducation du Québec (Québec Ministry of

Education) has extended the standard 10 months spent in "classes d'accueil" in more than 30 per cent of cases. It is experimenting with various formulas to meet specific needs. The ministère de l'Éducation (Ministry of Education), the school boards and the universities have also focused a great deal of attention on pedagogical development. The focus of this investment has mainly been on the development of adapted programs and evaluative tests, on initial and advanced training of instructors. It also provides support to Québec publishers, to publish educational materials for the classes d'accueil.

The effectiveness of the original formula of a full-time classe d'accueil, unique in Canada both for its duration and its universality, is today largely confirmed. In fact, a 1987 survey⁴³ shows that, on the whole, students from the 1981 classes d'accueil, four years after placement into the regular stream, were academically on the same level as the other students in the French sector. Furthermore, 70 per cent of the students who had been in a classe d'accueil at the secondary level reported in 1987 that they had been well prepared to integrate with the French-speaking educational milieu⁴⁴.

Passage into the regular stream is, however, a delicate stage. It usually requires special language support to enable the immigrant student to increase mastery of French while continuing to acquire other educational knowledge. The issue is also likely to affect students from the older cultural communities who are not proficient enough in French to pursue their education. This applies equally to French-language CEGEPs, now attended by close to 40 per cent of students of non-French or English mother-tongue and more than 80 per cent of those who studied in French at the secondary level. Make-up courses are becoming increasingly warranted at CEGEPs for some clientele who are having difficulty with French.

⁴¹ The reception sector includes *classes d'accueil*, for children who are neither eligible for English education nor subject to the "temporary entry" clause, and whose parents have been settled in Québec for less than five years, and *classes de francisation* for children who are eligible for English school and for the children of immigrants who have been established in Québec for over five years, on condition that they are not already proficient in French and they are registered in French school for the first time. The "classe d'accueil" and the "classe de francisation" normally run for 10 months, but a student's stay will vary according to learning pace. Both classes are identical in terms of teacher-student ratio; on the other hand, "classes de francisation" are half-time at the preschool level (kindergarten — age 5). Both classes are full time at the elementary and secondary levels.

⁴² This increase is due, on the one hand, to the diversification of the migratory flow that has occurred in recent years and, on the other, to the increasingly marked presence of refugee students or children

of refugee status claimants who often have lived under difficult conditions in their countries of origin and whose education has been interrupted.

⁴³ MAISONNEUVE, D., *Le cheminement scolaire des élèves ayant séjourné en classes d'accueil*, Direction des études économiques et démographiques, ministère de l'Éducation du Québec, 1987.

⁴⁴ BEAUCHESNE, A. and HENSLER, H., *L'école française à clientèle pluriethnique de Montréal: situation du français et intégration psychosociale des élèves*, Conseil de la langue française, 1987.

A number of recent studies⁴⁵ have confirmed that language proficiency problems exist among school-age Quebecers from the cultural communities. This research has also helped define the real nature and extent of these problems. For instance, results of tests on French as the language of education at the secondary level reveal that the students of non-French or English mother tongue generally experience real problems in the area of linguistic performance. Their passing grades (respectively 60.2 per cent and 63.7 per cent), were well below those of French-speaking students. This weakness in French was consistent among all students of non-French or English mother tongue. However it is far more marked among recent immigrants, but the results of students born here resemble those of French-speaking students. Similarly, at the elementary level, the clientele from the older cultural communities (which, like all school age students in Québec, only has access to half-time kindergarden) occasionally has problems with language proficiency. Finally, all schools with a high ethnic density have more difficulty in achieving linguistic integration because the natural asset of a French-speaking student body is largely missing⁴⁶.

To resolve these difficulties, the Government is supporting initiatives implemented locally by school boards or CEGEPs. Furthermore, under the Plan de développement du français, in 1989, it allocated special funds totalling close to \$8 million for the sole use of the ministère de l'Éducation (Ministry of Education). These funds have been used for French language support of students from the cultural communities and to introduce various measures designed to meet the needs of schools with a high ethnic density. Yet, it is essential that we increase and standardize our efforts to improve the situations currently faced by French-language educational institutions. Special target groups are those with high concentrations of students from the cultural communities.

Government will add resource teachers to those French-language public schools with a high ethnic density. These teachers can be assigned a variety of duties that meet the particular needs of these milieux. These include the production of adapted educational materials, linguistic support and the intercultural training of teachers. They will also include projects or activities that encourage parent participation, rapprochements with schools with a large French-speaking clientele and the development of harmonious intercultural and race relations.

The principal measures on **student services** in the years to come will include:

- The average number of students per group will be reduced in classes d'accueil at the secondary level
- Resources allocated for mesures spéciales d'accueil for immigrant students in regions outside Montréal will be increased
- Linguistic support services will be developed for students from the cultural communities who are experiencing problems with French-language proficiency
- The special budget will be maintained in support of schools with a high ethnic density, to promote improved learning of French
- Resource teachers will be added to French-language public schools with a high ethnic density
- French language workshops and research activities will be financed in CEGEPs with multi-ethnic clienteles, to support the learning of French by students from the cultural communities and to encourage these institutions to adjust to the pluralist reality.

⁴⁵ *L'école québécoise et les communautés culturelles — Rapport du coordonnateur*, ministère de l'Éducation du Québec, 1988, presents an exhaustive report of the research that has been conducted in this field.

⁴⁶ The argument presented here is based solely on the results in French and not on the overall academic performance of students from cultural communities. A recent review of the literature by the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration shows that, while students who are recent immigrants may have trouble here, the change in their academic performance over time is positive. On the whole, students from the cultural communities achieve equivalent and even superior academic results in some subjects, compared to French-speaking students from long-established families.

DEVELOPING THE USE OF FRENCH

Developing the use of French as the common language of communication between the various groups in Québec society is likely to contribute most positively to the linguistic integration of immigrants and their descendants. Government action on this objective will mainly deal with the language of public life and the language of work.

THE LANGUAGE OF PUBLIC LIFE

Since the early 1970s, the francization of public life has continued to progress in Québec. The use of French as the common language has extended to various sectors of the population. The results of a SEGMA-Lavallin survey⁴⁷ reveal that the survival of French is a major issue for a fairly equal percentage of individuals of non-French or English mother tongue and French-speaking individuals in Montréal. The survey confirms the changing attitudes on French among Quebecers from the cultural communities. This fact has been noted for some years now by numerous observers. Yet, despite the alarmist perceptions which often prevail in this field, the Conseil de la langue française study⁴⁸ showed that in 1987, French was the common language of communication among students of different origin in most multi-ethnic schools in Montréal.

However, certain linguistic practices used in communications between members of different communities still encourage ambiguous perceptions of the role of French as the common language of our society.

Numerous public, parapublic and municipal institutions are concerned about the long-term effects of the relatively frequent use of other languages than French in customer relations with Quebecers from the cultural communities. These institutions are naturally aware of the need to use languages that promote communication and access to services for Quebecers of all origins. However, they are also looking at means that will send an unambiguous message on the importance of French in Québec.

The recent increase in the popularity of English as the common language in some French schools — notably high schools with a high ethnic density — indicates the need to further support the use of French, yet respect the right of individuals to use the language of their choice in private communications.

Many Quebecers from cultural communities are also complaining of the everpresent tendency among francophones to routinely switch to English when speaking with people whose physical appearance or accent show that they are not of French origin. The host-population must become aware of its role in linguistic integration if we are to send a clear message regarding the importance of French in our society.

⁴⁷ SEGMA-LAVALLIN, *Sondage omnibus multiculturel de Montréal*, September 1989.

⁴⁸ BEAUCHESNE, A. and HENSLER, H., *L'école française à clientèle pluriethnique de Montréal: situation du français et intégration psychosociale des élèves*, Conseil de la langue française, 1987.

Numerous measures will be taken to **develop the use of French** as the language of public life:

- A plan to promote the use of French by Quebecers from the cultural communities, based on:
 - increased information on the French character of Québec and the various French instruction services available to immigrants and to Quebecers from the cultural communities
 - development of strategies to involve the organizations and media of the cultural communities in promoting the use of French
 - increasing the awareness of the host-population of its role in the linguistic integration of immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities
- Guidelines will be developed and disseminated to public, parapublic and municipal institutions on the promotion of French and the use of other languages in communications with Quebecers from the cultural communities. These guidelines will enable them to reconcile their dual concern for the use of French and equal access to services
- With support, school boards will mount promotional campaigns that encourage the use of French in schools and continuing education centres.

THE LANGUAGE OF WORK

Making French the language of work in Québec is both a Government objective and an essential condition to the linguistic integration of Quebecers from the cultural communities. Francization of the workplace has made enormous progress in the last decade, especially among those companies with 50 employees or more, which are nearing the end of the first stage in the Office de la langue française certification process.

The prevailing new dynamic in this area has also had a notable impact on the use of French as the language of work among Quebecers of other than French or English mother tongue. Indeed, according to the SEGMA-Lavallin survey, the proportion of French is now 31 per cent — a significant increase since 1972 when the Gendron Commission revealed that only 14 per cent of Quebecers of other than French or English mother tongue worked in French. With recent immigrants, this percentage is clearly higher since it ranges between 40 per cent and 74 per cent depending on the community.

Nevertheless, a large proportion of immigrants whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, still work in environments where English or heritage languages are the languages of work. This principally occurs in older more established communities. There is still no precise data on the nature of the companies where these workers are concentrated. Immigrant labour is overrepresented in the so-called "soft" sectors of the economy (textile, garment, furniture). So it is probable that a large proportion of these people work for small companies that have not yet been affected by francization. In these environments, the very large number of companies involved, their limited resources and poor representation of French-speaking workers among the personnel, all serve to complicate the francization process. The lack of a strong French-speaking milieu especially

increases the difficulty. Efforts to promote French as the common language in a company must be accompanied by a variety of measures designed to develop the knowledge of French among workers who speak neither French nor English.

Through financial support program for the promotion of French in small and medium sized businesses, launched in 1989, the Government has already begun to back some companies with a high concentration of non-French or English-speaking workers. The program has also enabled it to support various pilot projects for teaching French in these environments. The Government also announced in the last Budget speech that it would award companies a refundable tax credit that could be applied to expenses connected with manpower training and human resources development activities. This credit is higher for small and medium sized companies and can be used by those who would like to launch projects designed to enhance the learning and use of French as the language of work of its employees.

We have noted the essential role played by the language of work in the linguistic integration of immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities. So it is important that the action taken here be stepped up so that the process can be supported with more precise diagnosis and

the positive trends already seen emphasized. These measures on **language of work** are scheduled for the next three years:

- Francization efforts will be pursued in small and medium sized businesses. Increased priority will be assigned to environments with a high concentration of non-French or English-speaking workers
- The refundable tax credit for manpower training will be promoted to encourage the learning and use of French at work
- We will analyse the concentration of non-French or English-speaking workers according to company type and the factors that determine the adoption of French as the language of work. This will help identify and introduce measures more appropriate to the field.

PARTICIPATION

Being a member of a society means more than communicating with one's fellow citizens in a common language. Above all, it means sharing in the community life on which the society is based. The newcomer can be initiated to the new society, can practice speaking French and gradually develop a sense of belonging to Québec. This largely comes about when immigrants have contact with more established Quebecers, in the workplace, in the neighbourhood or in public and private institutions. Also, by sharing a common experience, Quebecers of all origins are learning more and more to recognize themselves as citizens of the same society.

Action will have to be stepped up to support the progress by Quebecers from the cultural communities towards full participation in Québec society and to enable them to make the best contribution they can.

The newly-landed immigrant's success or failure has more long-term consequences. It is essential to increase support for the reception and initial socio-economic placement of immigrants and their families, in cooperation with the community associations that play a major role here.

Regions outside Montréal should also benefit more from immigration. In fact, more balanced regional distribution of immigrants will likely encourage the economic, demographic and community development of these regions and aid integration of newcomers.

However, full and complete participation means that we must lift the institutional and societal barriers which are obstacles to equal opportunity for immigrants and their descendants. The first step therefore is to counter marginalisation by supporting integration in the job market. Notably, this must take place in the public service where the presence of Quebecers of all origins may have an influential impact. Efforts must also be made to fight direct and indirect job discrimination. Also, housing is one of the factors that contributes most to maintaining multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and schools where Quebecers of all origins can live together. So, various measures will have to be introduced to encourage equal access to housing.

Finally, if our society wants to encourage immigrants or people of immigrant origin to use common institutions, it must make sure that all the services are in fact accessible. It must especially ensure that this clientele enjoys real equality of treatment, by taking their personal needs into account. Institutional adaptation is especially crucial in the French-speaking milieu, where the habit of sharing institutions with persons of different origins is more recent. To support the integration of immigrants and their descendants, public, parapublic and private institutions must adapt to the pluralist reality. To this end, they will have to define services that are better adapted to their clientele as a whole, ensure the intercultural training of their staff and develop partnerships with resource persons and organizations from the cultural communities. The health and social services, education and public security sectors will require special attention. The services they dispense seriously affect the degree of participation in other areas of

social activity. Access to information represents another priority that will require appropriate treatment. However, this support will have to be provided within realistic limits, that take into account the taxpayers' ability to pay, the necessary standards for effective operation of the institutions and the linguistic choices of Québec. Furthermore, it is important not to promote the marginalization of Quebecers from the cultural communities by creating permanent parallel services.

The five principal objectives to be pursued on participation are:

8. To oversee the reception of newcomers and support their initial socio-economic adaptation.
9. To foster the regionalization of immigration and so regional development.
10. To support job market integration and ensure equal employment opportunity for Quebecers from the cultural communities.
11. To ensure equal access to housing for Quebecers from the cultural communities, especially visible minorities.
12. To support the adaptation of public, parapublic and private institutions to the pluralist reality.

**OVERSEEING THE RECEPTION OF
NEWCOMERS AND SUPPORTING
THEIR INITIAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC
ADAPTATION**

The initial contact with the host-society and its institutions plays a crucial role in integrating the immigrant. This is why for over 20 years Québec has been working to develop a specific approach of settlement support. There have been several noteworthy achievements in this field.

For instance, the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), whose clientele has grown consistently in recent years, plays an important role with newcomers, with its many services, notably reception, school and professional referrals, and the granting of academic equivalences. Furthermore, the Ministry's policy of "having things done", translates into a grant program for community organizations working in the area of reception and adaptation. This has allowed the Government to associate these groups with its efforts and to benefit from their expertise with a clientele that they have often been serving for quite some time. Moreover, all of Québec's institutions — especially health and social services organizations and the municipalities — are becoming increasingly involved in the reception and settlement of newcomers.

For the years to come, the Government considers it essential to associate all reception and settlement support activities for newcomers with the needs and objectives of Québec society. It also intends to develop its actions here considerably. This is why since 1986 it has been demanding exclusive control over the reception and socio-economic integration of immigrants, along with reasonable financial compensation.

To make the earliest contact with newcomers, permanent reception services will be set up at the two major ports of entry in Québec — Dorval and Mirabel airports. All immigrants will be welcomed by Québec immigration officers who will give them basic information on the characteristics of Québec society and the services that they may need.

Support for the immigrants' initial economic steps will be reinforced to enable them to realize their full potential for contributing to Québec society. To this end, services already provided by the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will be consolidated to ensure improved diagnosis of newcomers' needs. Referrals to available services — federally and provincially, as well as privately — will be improved and delays in awarding academic equivalences will be shortened.

Measures will also be developed, aimed specifically at helping newcomers find an initial place in the job market. However, it can occasionally prove difficult for clienteles not selected for employability — refugees and family members. Also, some independent immigrants will need information or upgrading of their training to adapt to the context of Québec, or may face barriers that limit their access to the professions. This is

why the Government will be creating a special section under the grant program for non-government organizations. This will provide specific support for those working to introduce immigrants to the job market. Various innovative measures will have to be introduced, like placement clubs which will foster job-hunting skills among newcomers.

To ensure that more businesspeople stay in Québec, their special needs will also have to be met, in producing their business plans and initiating them to the economic realities of Québec.

Finally, with increased immigration levels, the reception services provided by the various partners will have to be consolidated. Non-government organizations that are active in reception and adaptation will therefore receive increased support. The health and social services network, which often serves an underprivileged clientele, will develop its services for newcomers. Since the dynamism of the host-society can play an essential role in the support of initial settlement, the public's commitment will have to be further aroused in this domain. To this end, the Government will support the creation of networks of local volunteers who are interested in supporting the social adaptation of newcomers.

Intended measures for reception and support during initial socio-economic adaptation include:

- Reception services will be opened at the principal ports of entry in Québec Dorval and Mirabel
- Support services in the socio-economic area to aid newcomers will be increased, through:
 - improved diagnosis of newcomers' needs and better referral to available services
 - shorter delays in issuing academic equivalences
 - development of job placement clubs for immigrants
- A special job market section will be developed under the grant program for non-government partners in reception and adaptation
- Services for businesspeople will be developed, including the organization of seminars on the economic realities of Québec and the orchestration of activities that will introduce them to major economic groups and business networks
- Financing of the grant program for organizations engaged in reception and adaptation activities will be increased, notably to encourage the creation of volunteer support networks for newcomers
- The supply of regular social services for newcomers will be increased in the health and social services network.

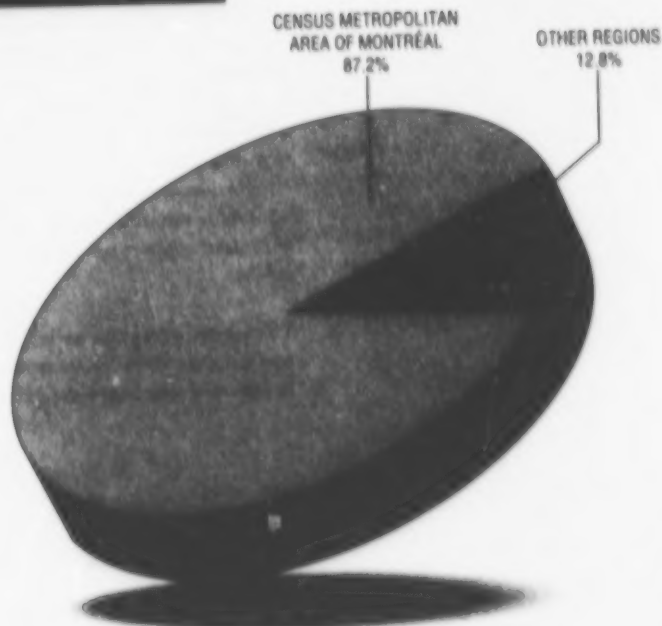
SUPPORTING THE REGIONALIZATION OF IMMIGRATION TO FOSTER REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

¹⁰ LE BOURDAIS, C. and LEFEBVRE, C., *Spatialisé des composantes ethniques, socio-économiques et familiales à Montréal en 1981*, Institut national de la recherche scientifique, February 1987.

¹¹ The proportion of the immigrant population, compared with the overall Montréal population, which represents 16 per cent, is nevertheless still well below that of other large Canadian cities, such as Toronto (36 per cent) or Vancouver (29 per cent).

¹² Opinion of the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration on regionalization: *Quelques arpents de neige... à partager*, November 1988.

Figure XII
Spatial distribution of the foreign-born population in the census metropolitan area of Montreal 1986



Source : Canada Census, 1986.

For more than a century, the regional distribution of immigrants in Québec has been characterized by a heavy concentration in Montréal and poor representation in outlying areas. In 1986, 87.2 per cent of the immigrant population in Québec lived in the census metropolitan area of Montréal, which accounts for only 45 per cent of the total population of Québec. While between 1971 and 1981¹⁰, immigrants did disperse to all districts on the Island of Montréal and even to the suburbs, the imbalance in the regional distribution of immigrants to Québec has raised concerns¹¹.

This metropolitan concentration rate — the highest of all major Canadian cities — deprives many areas in Québec of the economic, demographic and socio-cultural contribution of immigration, even though Québec has for some years pursued a major regional development policy. The lack of a balanced regional distribution of immigrants has left Montréalers and their institutions with the sole responsibility of

integrating the newcomers. Yet, Québeckers in all regions should be called on to contribute. Finally, this imbalance is likely, in the long run, to create a significant hiatus between the metropolitan region and the rest of the province.

The objective is complex because it must recognize two major factors — the freedom of movement of individuals and the regions' receptive capacity. The experience of regionalizing the South East Asian "boat people" in 1979-1980 showed that, despite all the goodwill, immigrant retention in regions outside Montréal remains problematic. It is above all dependent on the regions' socio-economic placement capacity and the availability of reception and integration services adapted to their needs. Newcomers also need to rely on the expertise of organizations within their communities. They have to find themselves in sufficiently large numbers to recreate a community life that helps cushion the cultural shock generated by migration. These are decisive factors in whether immigrants remain in a region.

On the other hand, given regional economic disparities, actions to promote settlement of immigrants outside Montréal must coincide with a regional development policy, as recommended by the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration¹². Without this, problems already experienced in some regions could be accentuated.

To match Government orientations on regional development, it will encourage an increase in immigration to a region when that region has shown itself willing — along with a commitment from major socio-economic decision-makers — to accept more newcomers. Here, the Government intends to support regional efforts to facilitate the socio-economic placement of immigrants. The municipalities, industrial commissions and other agents of regional economic development will play a leading role here. Initiatives designed to identify specific labour shortages and possible partnerships between local entrepreneurs and immigrant businesspeople will be especially encouraged. Job vacancies in the regions will be posted in Montréal to attract potential newcomers.

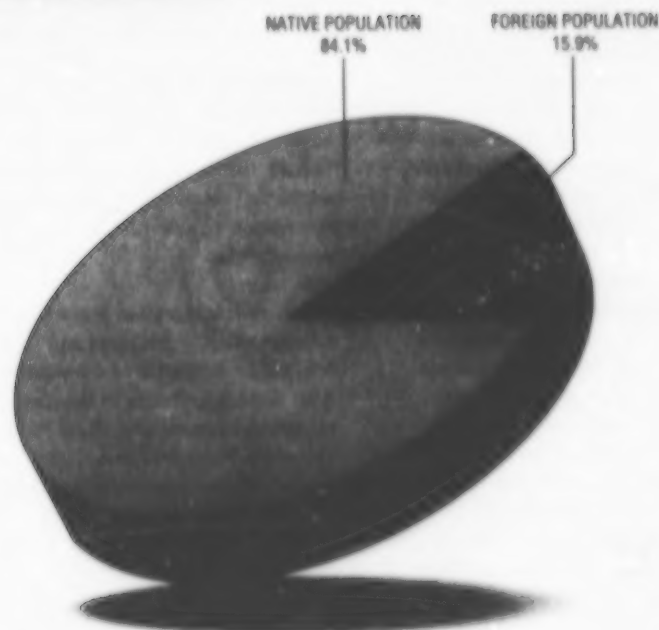
Regionalization will only provide significant results in the long term. Initially, a great deal of energy will have to be devoted to attracting and retaining immigrants to the regions. Numbers will increase gradu-

ally from sponsorship and the power of attraction a critical mass of immigrants can exert on other applicants.

Principal measures to be implemented on **regionalization of immigration** (add those in the objective entitled "maximizing the economic impact of immigration") are therefore:

- The ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), in cooperation with the Office de planification et de développement du Québec (the office of planning and development of Québec), will implement a concerted action plan for regionalization, providing notably for the support of pilot projects carried out with regional economic organizations and for stepping up the amount of information available on possible business creation opportunities in emerging sectors
- The possibility of farming will be promoted to immigrants, with support for their reception by local ministère de l'Agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture) offices
- The ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will develop services in the regions outside Montréal, notably job market placement services
- Organizations of cultural communities in regions outside Montréal will get increased support to help them get better organized and to provide more support for integration of newcomers.

Figure XIII
Proportion of foreign-born population
in Montréal 1986



Source : Canada Census, 1986.

**SUPPORTING JOB MARKET
INTEGRATION AND ENSURING EQUAL
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY**

Two fields of activity are involved in the pursuit of this objective — economic integration in the private sector and representation in the public, parapublic and municipal services.

**ECONOMIC INTEGRATION
IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR**

Generally speaking, the 1986 Census data on the economic integration of the foreign-born population of Québec is favourable. The situation reflects the existence of real social mobility among a majority of Quebecers from the cultural communities. For instance, the foreign-born population as a whole has a slightly lower unemployment rate and average earnings that are higher than those of the Québec-born population. Both these positive tendencies are clearly accentuated with people who have lived in Québec for more than 10 years. The foreign-born population is slightly overrepresented in the higher socio-professional strata.

This favourable outlook should not however be used to minimize the existence of real problems experienced by certain target groups which are clearly underprivileged. With the unemployment rates of 15.4 per cent overall, and 25 per cent for those who have been in Québec for under five years, and with an average income of \$19,037 overall, and \$11,873 among those who have been in Québec for under five years, foreign-born women are clearly more at risk than foreign-born men (and even Québec-born women) in economic integration. Sponsored women in the family-class are especially vulnerable, as illustrated in an opinion of the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration⁵². Similarly, like all young people in Québec, the 15-24 age bracket shows a high unemployment rate, especially among youths from the visible minorities. Finally, data on the placement of visible minorities as a whole reveals some underrepresentation in the higher socio-professional strata and a higher unemployment rate than for the population of Québec as a whole. It is not, however, as difficult a situation as that of women or young people.

Studies by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) on women from the cultural communities have shed some light on the problem of placement of women in the job market. The special needs of these target clientele — women, the 15-24 age bracket, members of visible minorities — both in terms of placement and the development of employability, are still relatively unknown. They are not considered in the various Government programs available to the general population. Also, various manifestations of discrimination — illustrated by the many cases of job discrimination on race, colour or ethnic origin confirmed each year by the Human Rights Commission — represent an additional obstacle to achieving truly equal access to employment for Quebecers of all origins.

This reality led the Government to fight job discrimination in all its forms. When it announced the introduction of the contractual obligation⁵³ in the spring of 1988, it was showing its intention to encourage the private sector, the major employer in Québec, to hire members of all social groups. Furthermore, the Human Rights Commission will be able to increase its support and aid to victims through the amendments to the *Charter of Human Rights* on Act 140. These create an independent human rights tribunal and establish rapid and effective mechanisms for resolving problems and settling disputes. Indeed, the commission was awarded additional resources in 1990-1991 to strengthen its activities in protecting human rights.

Job market integration plays an essential role in achieving complete and whole-hearted participation in community life. Also, certain problems in this field have persisted, so increased efforts have proved necessary to ensure the economic integration of Quebecers from the cultural communities.

⁵² CCCI, *Les femmes parrainées de la catégorie de la famille — Avis à la ministre, Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration*, 1988.

⁵³ The Programme d'obligation contractuelle requires that all profit-oriented organizations with 100 employees or more that wish to bid on a contract or sub-contract for goods or services valued at \$100,000 or more, undertake to introduce an affirmative action program if awarded the contract or grant. The program is aimed at women, aboriginal people and, as a first priority, the visible minorities.

The Government intends to improve identification and accounting of the specific needs of these target clientele. This effort will focus particularly on the various Government programs aimed at developing employability among high-risk clientele and of vocational training. It will also support the efforts of its partners in the private sector — in the unions and the community organizations — to ensure equal access to employment for Quebecers of all origins.

The principal actions taken by the Government in **economic integration in the private sector** over the next three years will be:

- Initiatives of institutions and community organizations that help combat job discrimination will be supported
- Implementation of affirmative action programs in the private sector will be supported
- The activities of the Human Rights Commission will be consolidated on discrimination, notably its support of people who are victims of discrimination on race, colour or ethnic origin
- The contractual obligation will be followed and evaluated
- The needs of the target clientele among the cultural communities will be further considered in the various programs aimed at the development of employability notably in the *Services externes de main-d'œuvre* (external manpower services) and in vocational training programs.

REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE PUBLIC, PARAPUBLIC AND MUNICIPAL SERVICE

The underrepresentation of Quebecers from the cultural communities in the public service sector (they account for only 1.7 per cent of the total workforce²⁴) is of great concern to the Government.

Indeed, the Government is aware that it must play the leading role on equal access to employment. It can exert influence on its partners in the parapublic, municipal and private sectors by ensuring fair representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities within the ministries and agencies for which it is directly responsible. So, in March 1990, the Government made known the various measures that it intends to implement by 1994 under the Public Service affirmative action program. The Government's ultimate objective is to ensure that Quebecers from the cultural communities account for 9 per cent in all public service job categories, which corresponds to their availability on the job market.

To this end, it will hire a minimum of 12 per cent of Quebecers from the cultural communities every year until 1994, thus doubling their representation within the Public Service. It also firmly intends to tackle several problems that have led to the current situation. There is the lack of attraction of the Public Service for Quebecers from the cultural communities. The majority of jobs are concentrated in Québec City. Also, there is the degree of language proficiency needed to fill many of the jobs in the public service.

²⁴ Statistical data on the representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities is based on the definition selected by the Public Service under the affirmative action program, namely members of visible minorities and persons whose mother tongue is other than French or English.

Parallel to implementating the affirmative action program, it will examine the prevailing situation on higher-level jobs to ensure that representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities is fair and reflects the growing pluralism of our society.

The Government also intends to offer more support and to extend to other areas the efforts of certain parapublic institutions and municipalities. These are particularly in the metropolitan area where their ongoing actions have been to increase representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities on their own staff. In the parapublic sector, public security, education, and health and social services will all be assigned priority. The presence of Quebecers of all origins here constitutes an essential asset to adapting institutions to our increasingly multiethnic clientele.

Government action in **representation in the public, parapublic and municipal service** sectors over the next three years will focus on:

- The affirmative action program in the public service will continue with:
 - the development, in cooperation with their organizations and media, of a strategy designed to attract Quebecers from the cultural communities
 - the elimination from staffing in the Québec City region, of the criterion which stipulates that the applicant must already be a resident of the area to compete
 - the availability of advanced French courses for persons already employed within the public service
 - the development of a training program that will increase the employability of Quebecers from the cultural communities
 - the development of mechanisms for the follow-up, annual evaluation and adjustment of the program
- Representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities will be increased in high-level public service jobs
- Affirmative action programs within the Sûreté du Québec, the health and social services network establishments, school boards and municipalities will be supported.

ENSURING EQUAL ACCESS TO HOUSING

At first glance, the overall position of the cultural communities in access to housing appears quite favourable in Québec. For instance, 72 per cent of speakers of languages other than French or English in Montréal own their own homes. This indicates that access to ownership is more widespread than among long-established French-speaking families, where the percentage is only 52 per cent⁵⁵. Grouping with persons of the same origin often softens the shock of initial settlement. Yet, income and family traits, rather than ethnic origin, subsequently dictate the choice of neighbourhood. The population of other origins besides French or British is fairly evenly distributed among the high, middle, and low-income districts of Montréal⁵⁶.

Yet, the visible minorities experience more problems here. The Human Rights Commission has shown that, despite the socio-economic level of the district, the average cost of rents is always higher in neighbourhoods or "aggregates" with a heavy concentration of visible minorities. Families in these groups also devote more of their income to housing than does the population as a whole. However, the rent they pay generally gives them access to less spacious dwellings. They are also often the object of manifest discrimination by landlords⁵⁷.

Some newcomers are likely to experience adjustment problems that complicate the search for housing. These may taint subsequent relationships with their landlords or neighbours. Failure to master the French language is indeed an obstacle to communication. This may prove a major problem when cultural differences cause friction and misunderstandings on the rights and obligations of tenants and landlords.

Government action in access to housing for Quebecers from the cultural communities has been limited, except for the support granted to victims of discrimination by the Human Rights Commission. Like all citizens of Québec, they may use the various government and municipal programs designed to protect tenants and support the public and private housing market. However, their special needs are still basically unknown and are not considered by most of these programs⁵⁸.

The principal measures to be introduced on housing include:

- Information meetings will be organized for various target groups, on the issue of access to housing for visible minorities and ways of countering discrimination here
- A communications program on housing will be mounted, aimed at Quebecers from the cultural communities and providing specifically for:
 - the development of newcomers' awareness of the rights and responsibilities of tenants and landlords, and of services available in this field
 - translation of a sample lease into various languages for reference
 - development of a training program for people working in multi-ethnic communities
- An analysis and an evaluation of the housing needs of low-income families from the cultural communities will be prepared to improve adaptation of government programs to their particular situation.

⁵⁵ SEGMA-LAVALLIN, *Sondage omnibus multiculturel de Montréal*, September 1989.

⁵⁶ LE BOURDAIS, C. and LEFEBVRE, C., *Spatialisation des composantes ethniques, socio-économiques et familiales à Montréal en 1981*, Institut national de la recherche scientifique, February 1987.

⁵⁷ C.D.P., *Bilan de recherche sur la situation des minorités ethniques et visibles dans le logement et pistes d'intervention*, Commission des droits de la personne (Human Rights Commission), 1988.

⁵⁸ An upcoming opinion of the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration will foster a better understanding of the issue and identification of possible solutions in this respect.

SUPPORTING THE ADAPTATION OF INSTITUTIONS TO THE PLURALIST REALITY

The adaptation of institutions to the pluralist reality is essential to the participation of Quebecers of every origin in society. To support the institutions throughout this process, the Government will act in four principal areas:

- Services will be adapted to the needs of the clientele from the cultural communities
- Compromises will be designed to reconcile religious concerns and the functioning of the organizations
- Public service personnel will be given intercultural training
- A partnership will be developed with community organizations. Quebecers from the cultural communities will be better represented on decision-making and advisory bodies.

ADAPTING SERVICES TO THE NEEDS OF THE CLIENTELE FROM THE CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

In recent years, the public, parapublic, municipal and private institutions most directly affected have been concerned to know more about the needs of clientele from the cultural communities. They have introduced various measures that would respond more adequately to these needs.

Thus, in health and social services, the Sirros Report identified various linguistic and cultural obstacles that limit the accessibility and adaptation of services for the clientele of the cultural communities. The result was a plan of action designed to meet these specific needs more effectively. Announced in the spring of 1989 and already underway, the plan provides for integration of the intercultural dimension into all ministère de la Santé et des

Services sociaux (Ministry of Health and Social Services) programs. It includes development of regional plans to improve accessibility and the creation of a bank of linguistic or cultural interpreters to support the staff of the network. Finally, an information program intended for the cultural communities will be introduced.

In the education sector, the *Rapport sur l'école québécoise et les communautés culturelles* (1985) identified assorted weaknesses. Several measures were then introduced to support the integration of students from the cultural communities and to ensure the intercultural education of the entire student population. These measures, which meet many of the objectives of the present policy, are described in the sections dealing with these issues.

In the public security sector, the Bellemare Report has thoroughly documented the tensions that exist between the police and Quebecers from some communities. Various efforts aimed at adapting the services have also been made. The *Sûreté du Québec* has just completed the development of an intercultural relations program. The Montréal Urban Community police department has for the past two years been engaged in a major program designed to create a rapprochement with the cultural communities. Finally, the *ministère de la Sécurité publique* (Ministry of Public Security) has created the *Comité consultatif sur les relations interculturelles et raciales* (the intercultural and race relations advisory committee). Its mission is to advise the Minister on the appropriate action to be taken.

The Government has also sought to improve the access to information on the various government services and programs available. To this end, it has developed and promoted the information services of the ministère des Communications (Ministry of Communications) in Montréal, which can now meet the needs of ten linguistic communities.

The municipal sector has also put considerable effort into adapting its institutions. An example of this is the recent creation of advisory boards on cultural and race relations within the Montréal Urban Community and the City of Montréal. The City of Montréal has also acted in accordance with the three fundamental principles of access to information and services, access to employment, and developing roots. Finally, various private institutions — trade unions, churches and chambers of commerce — are showing that they want to know more about the cultural communities and their needs.

Yet more emphasis must still be placed on adapting services. First of all, consolidation, intensification and, in some cases, improved distribution of the efforts already being made are needed. Within the health and social services system, the announcement of the plan of action has aroused many hopes which must now be met through effective implementation of the various measures. Furthermore, a global policy is needed to promote improved access to information on Government services. Indeed, the efforts that are made to achieve this objective will have to go beyond the dimension of language alone and focus on an analysis of all the obstacles, especially cultural, which can limit communication with Quebecers of various origins. Actions in matters of public security will also have to be pursued and developed.

The concern for knowing more about the clientele of the cultural communities must surely be expanded to all ministries, public and parapublic institutions, and Government agencies. There must be an ongoing concern for evaluating the accessibility and adaptability of their services. Here, there should be emphasis on daycare services, higher education and recreation. These can contribute a great deal to integrating newcomers and the Quebecers of the cultural communities. Similarly, special care should be taken that legal services are accessible, one of the fundamental rights of our society.

Finally, to improve the exchange of information and concerted action, the Government intends to offer more support for the efforts being made by municipalities and the private sector to adapt to the pluralist reality.

Government intervention in the area of **adaptation of services** will therefore cover these points:

- Efforts already being made in the area of health and social services, public security and access to information, must be consolidated, notably through:
 - pursuit of the plan of action implemented by the ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (Ministry of Health and Social Services)
 - implementation of the Sûreté du Québec intercultural relations program
 - development and implementation of a policy on the access to Government information for Quebecers from the cultural communities

- The commitment by all Québec ministries must be intensified to ensure the accessibility and adaptation of their services, notably through:

- a three-year plan of action will be developed and implemented for the reception and integration of students from the cultural communities into the college network
- increased support for the introduction of multi-ethnic daycare services and the supply of information adapted to parents from the cultural communities
- the development of a communications plan on recreational programs intended for Quebecers from the cultural communities, to increase their participation in various activities in this field
- an action plan designed to promote accessibility of legal services for Quebecers from the cultural communities will be developed and implemented

- There will be increased support for parapublic, municipal and private institutions in adapting to the pluralist reality. The consulting services of the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will be developed and a guide for municipal administrations will be produced, in cooperation with the municipalities.

COMPROMISES DESIGNED TO RECONCILE RELIGIOUS CONCERNS WITH THE FUNCTIONING OF ORGANIZATIONS

For some immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities, religion is an essential part of their cultural identity which they intend to preserve and develop. In some cases, standards in effect within Québec institutions — which are adapted to a society that is in the majority Christian —

may contradict the precepts of other religions. Thus, to respect these precepts, members of religious minorities are demanding that certain standards be adapted, notably those on dress, dietary prescriptions, work schedules and the observance of religious holidays.

Agreeing to all these demands may occasionally raise major organizational or financial problems for the institutions. Such situations can generate tensions, especially in a context of growing religious diversity within the migratory movement.

There is no one solution to this problem. It raises various legal questions that have yet to be explored. Nonetheless, the Government considers that solutions specific to each organization, based on compromise, are preferable to legal decisions. It is probable that most of the potentially conflicting situations will be resolved if the parties can distinguish between what is essential and what is not essential among their concerns for piety on the one hand and efficiency on the other. The Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration has been given the mandate to produce an opinion for the Minister on the principles that should guide the search for reasonable compromises here.

To promote this approach, this measure will be introduced over the next few years:

- The consulting expertise of the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will be developed on various solutions that will enable Quebecers of religious minorities to respect the fundamental principles of their faith within existing standards. These will enable organizations to accommodate some of the demands without prejudicing their effectiveness or their productivity.

INTERCULTURAL TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Adapting institutions does not simply mean modifying programs and services. It also means preparing staff to work with a clientele whose characteristics and needs may be unique. Aware of the importance of intercultural training for their personnel, some public and parapublic institutions have already begun to take action. For instance, the ministère de l'Éducation du Québec (Québec Ministry of Education) has for the last two years been engaged in a structured intercultural training program for education personnel. The ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et des Sciences (Ministry of Higher Education and Sciences) supports several training initiatives for CEGEP teachers in the metropolitan area. For its part, the ministère de la Sécurité publique (Ministry of Public Security) recently supported the development of a number of intercultural awareness programs.

The Government believes it must step up its action. In doing so, it wants to reach more groups and develop approaches and instruments that are particularly adapted to the special needs of personnel depending on their areas of action. It also intends to encourage integration of the intercultural dimension with introductory training

programs for future personnel. This integration is, despite recent efforts, still far too limited, especially within French-language CEGEPs and universities.

Principal measures to be introduced on **intercultural training of personnel** include:

- Various intercultural training programs for personnel in the fields of education, health and social services, and daycare services, as well as for the police officers of the Sûreté du Québec and the Services de police du Grand Montréal
- A program for training public and private sector managers, whose job is to adapt programs and services to a multi-ethnic clientele
- Integration of intercultural education as a main component of the new teacher training policy and subsequent implementation of measures adapted to the kindergarten, elementary, high school and college levels
- Increased consideration for our pluralist reality in the development and revision of college-level training programs
- An invitation to the Conférence des recteurs et principaux des universités du Québec to create an ad hoc committee in conjunction with the ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et des Sciences (Ministry of Higher Education and Sciences) to support the universities' adaptation to the pluralist reality, notably on various training programs.

PARTNERSHIP WITH COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATIONS AND REPRESENTATION OF
QUEBECKERS FROM THE CULTURAL
COMMUNITIES AMONG DECISION-MAKING
AND ADVISORY BODIES

An important asset in adapting to the pluralist reality of Québec is partnership with organizations from the cultural communities and participation of Quebecers of all origins in the advisory or decision-making bodies that define the major orientations of institutions. We may deplore the fact that, traditionally, Québec's institutions (in particular those of the French-speaking milieu), have done little to develop ties with these organizations which possess considerable expertise, notably familiarity with the needs of the cultural communities. This mandate has too long been left to the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) alone, with little participation from other institutions of Government.

For a variety of reasons, participation of Quebecers from the cultural communities is still too low in various advisory or decision-making bodies — notably school committees and boards of directors of institutions.

Action in **partnership and representation** will focus on:

- Emphasizing support for the organizations of the cultural communities through the grant programs of the ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (Ministry of Health and Social Services), and the implementation of innovative partnership projects between these organizations and the health and social services network
- Increased aid from the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) for the initiatives of organizations of the cultural communities to develop their partnership with public and parapublic institutions
- Pilot projects to increase participation of parents from the cultural communities in school life and on school committees
- Representation of Quebecers from the cultural communities within various advisory or decision making bodies, notably those whose members are appointed by the Government, the boards of directors of colleges and health and social service institutions, as well as the committees that will be created following adoption of the new police officers' code of ethics.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Living together is much more than sharing the same institutions and interacting in official or public situations. It also means feeling united by that sense of belonging to a common society. It implies being willing to build a future society that will be enriched by each and every one of us. To support the development of this collective sense of community life and to encourage mutual discovery among all citizens of Québec, the Government intends to act in a number of areas of community, social and cultural life.

There can be no future without taking the past into account. Therefore, the Government wants to help Quebecers from the cultural communities to discover and, especially, to comprehend — in the etymological sense of "making theirs" — Québec society. Indeed, Quebecers of all origins must be able to appreciate the common heritage that is the history of Québec, its past and present culture and the foundations of its democratic traditions. These three dimensions have in fact often been shaped by the contribution of Québec citizens of many different origins.

To identify with Québec society, Quebecers from the cultural communities must be recognized as full-fledged Quebecers with their similarities and their differences. It is therefore essential that the attitudes and behaviour of people of all origins, the major means of socialization¹⁰, as well as valuing the contributing cultures by the host-society — all contribute to the development, amongst all Quebecers, of a sense of belonging to one society.

Finally, since it is largely through spontaneous and harmonious personal contact that a mutual appreciation develops among the citizens of a community, Québec intends to actively combat isolation. There must also be support for current efforts to resolve tensions that may occasionally be generated by ignorance or lack of understanding of one another.

The Government has therefore set itself three objectives in intergroup relations:

13. To develop knowledge and understanding of Québec society among immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities.
14. To develop a recognition of the pluralist reality among the population as a whole.
15. To support rapprochement between groups that are isolated and the French-speaking majority and to encourage the resolution of intergroup tensions.

¹⁰ Means of socialization refers to all the means used by a society to develop, during childhood and subsequently throughout adult life, a sense of belonging and identification, among all its members. Most of the time, such socialization is largely unconscious and relies on images, with respect to the criteria for belonging to a common society, that are transmitted through various media, notably textbooks and curriculums, television programs, newspaper articles, advertising messages and place-names.

DEVELOPING KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF QUÉBEC SOCIETY

In the last few years, numerous partners within the host-society and resource persons from the cultural communities have been seeking to develop knowledge and understanding of Québec society among immigrants and Quebecers from the cultural communities. Thus, a new awareness of the reality of Québec has been integrated into the various stages of the selection, reception and initial language training of newcomers, both adults and children. This concern has displayed itself specifically through the adult French-language instruction programs offered by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration). Here learning the language and initiation to life in Québec are very closely related.

Long-term education and awareness — and only these will ensure the achievement of such a complex objective — have also reached a turning-point. With Bill 101, the majority of students from cultural communities can now be exposed to all the cultural baggage that is acquired in French school. On the other hand, the schools, the CLSCs and other organizations supported by either the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) or the ministère du Loisir, de la Chasse et de la Pêche (Ministry of Recreation, Hunting and Fishing), have taken various steps to teach adults more about Québec culture. Finally, increased consumption of French language radio and television, especially among the newer communities, can only encourage a better understanding of the reality of Québec⁶⁰.

However, because of the growing diversity of immigration sources, actions in this area will have to be stepped up. Indeed, the cultural distance has created certain problems in the adaptation of some newcomers, who require more extensive initiation to the prevailing lifestyles in Québec. The difference between the models and values of their country of origin and those of the Québec host-society can also

create difficult family situations for both the adults and the children. Thus, initiation of newcomers to Québec society should be reinforced. It should include French-speaking immigrants of different cultures who do not have access to French-language instruction services yet who still need support in their social and cultural integration.

It is also important to increase the knowledge and understanding of Québec society among Quebecers of all origins. This is true both in school, where instruction in national history poses particular problems in multi-ethnic environments, as well as in our cultural and recreational institutions as they can reach a broader clientele. The cooperation of organizations from the cultural communities should prove valuable here.

Principal measures in **developing a knowledge and understanding of Québec society** in the years to come include:

- The initiation to Québec's lifestyles for newcomers will be strengthened for adults and children by developing better information documents for them
- Initiatives taken by community organizations and institutions will be further supported to encourage a knowledge and understanding of Québec society among Quebecers from the cultural communities
- A working committee of people in various aspects of education will be created, to examine the whole issue of learning about Québec society in multi-ethnic school settings and will propose interventions here
- Regional tourism will be promoted among the cultural communities of Montréal, through their associations and media.

⁶⁰ SEGMA-LAVALLIN, *Sondage omnibus multiculturel de Montréal*, September 1989.

DEVELOPING A RECOGNITION OF THE PLURALIST REALITY

Recognition of the pluralist reality by the population as a whole is essential to the success of an integration policy. The Government therefore intends to ensure:

- The promotion of favourable attitudes towards immigration and ethnic, racial and cultural diversity
- Increased ethnocultural representation among the principal means of socialization
- The contributing cultures will be promoted to Quebecers of all origins.

THE PROMOTION OF FAVOURABLE ATTITUDES TOWARDS ETHNIC, RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

On the whole, the population of Québec has shown itself to be tolerant and open to immigration and to ethnic, racial and cultural diversity. Thus, according to a recent SORECOM⁴¹ survey, 76 per cent of Quebecers consider that Québec needs immigrants and 68 per cent consider that their presence enriches us culturally. On almost all issues on refugees, immigrants, and cultural and racial diversity, Quebecers have showed themselves to be more open-minded than their fellow-citizens in other parts of the country⁴².

A number of Government initiatives have contributed to these positive attitudes, including the *Declaration on ethnic and race relations*. Again, we have also seen the integration into school textbooks and curriculums of numerous elements that enhance the value of cultural pluralism, the fight against racism and the contribution of immigrants to the development of Québec. The crucial role played here in recent years by the Human Rights Commission and various community organizations should also be underscored.

As the level and diversity of immigration increases, the Government must accentuate and standardize its actions here. Indeed, most Quebecers are unfamiliar with the characteristics of immigration and are unaware that there is a selection policy⁴³. Cultural differences occasionally cause misunderstandings and some of our fellow-citizens continue to manifest negative attitudes towards persons of different origin and race.

In an increasingly multi-racial Québec, racism especially has become an issue that absolutely must be tackled. Indeed, more pernicious and more dangerous than mere xenophobia, racist ideology affirms the superiority of some groups over others based on so-called biological inequalities. It can therefore be used to appear to justify various discriminatory practices with claims to be scientifically based. Furthermore, racism is aimed at high-risk groups since the physical criteria that distinguish them are visible and relatively permanent over generations. Action designed to promote the positive image of visible minorities among the population as a whole must therefore be intensified to combat the stereotypes still present in our society.

⁴¹ SORECOM, *Étude de la perception des Québécois face à l'immigration*, 1989.

⁴² ANGUS REID, *Attitudes et perception d'éléments choisis de la politique relative à l'immigration et aux réfugiés au Canada — Rapport final*, March 1989.

⁴³ SORECOM, *Étude de la perception des Québécois face à l'immigration*, 1989.

The Government will implement these measures to **promote attitudes that favour ethnic, racial and cultural diversity**:

- A public awareness plan will be implemented to enhance the contribution of immigration to the development of Québec society
- The *Declaration on ethnic and race relations* will be distributed and posted in various public places
- An annual intercultural week will be organized
- A model policy on race and cultural relations for the parapublic and private sectors will be developed
- Annual Orange and Lemon Prizes will be awarded. The first will be for the advertisement that has contributed most to promoting favourable attitudes towards ethnic, racial and cultural diversity. The second will be awarded to the advertisement that has most perpetuated stereotypes
- A promotional campaign will be organized, aimed at developing a positive image of the visible minorities among the general public.

INCREASING ETHNOCULTURAL REPRESENTATION AMONG THE MAJOR MEANS OF SOCIALIZATION

To promote a true sense of belonging to Québec society among Quebecers from the cultural communities, several recent initiatives have added to their recognition in messages conveyed by major means of socialization. For instance, a special effort has been made in schools to increase representation of the cultural communities in learning materials. In the Programme Nouveaux Visages, five journalists from the cultural communities have worked for a time with French language television networks. The pluralist reality of Québec has in recent years been reflected more accurately through that quintessential communication medium in our modern society, television.

However, intervention in this field, especially via the French-speaking media, remains insufficient. Thus, according to the SEGMA-Lavallin survey, a majority of Quebecers of non-French or English mother tongue still consider English-language television a better reflection of the pluralist reality than French-language television. Despite recent changes in this respect, this perception mirrors the conclusions, already somewhat dépassé, of the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission. In a study of the content of French language programs published in 1985, the CRTC estimated news interviews involving minority individuals at 1 per cent and roles in television series, at 6 per cent. Furthermore, Quebecers from the cultural communities, especially the visible minorities, have trouble recognizing themselves in advertising. In support of this finding, a team of researchers, in 1988, found only 10 representations of visible minorities in 311 posters in the Montréal Metro⁶⁴. Finally, both in schools and among the media, as well as among the general population and, often, even at certain levels of Government, the terminology used to designate

⁶⁴ CENTRE DE RECHERCHE-ACTION SUR LES RELATIONS INTERRACIALES. *Un visage français, oui, mais... multiculturel et multiracial aussi — Une étude sur la représentation des minorités visibles dans les panneaux publicitaires situés dans les stations de métro de Montréal, 1988.*

Quebeckers from the cultural communities for the most part does not emphasize their identity as Quebeckers.

It is therefore essential that concerted action be introduced quickly to prevent the sense of alienation often expressed by minority groups from growing.

Numerous actions will be introduced over the next three years to **increase ethnocultural representation among the major means of socialization:**

- The Programme Nouveaux Visages will be extended until 1992 and broadened to include the printed media and radio
- Decision-makers in the media and the world of advertising will be made aware of the importance of showing likenesses of Quebeckers from the cultural communities in their media productions and messages
- Guidelines for advertising and Government publications will be proposed so that these reflect the pluralism of Québec society. An effort to develop an awareness of this issue among Government communications officers will be created
- The Commission de toponymie will recognize in place-names the contribution made to Québec society by members of the cultural communities
- A lexicon will be developed and distributed to promote the use of terminology that emphasizes the belonging of Quebeckers from the cultural communities to Québec society.

PROMOTING THE VALUE OF THE CONTRIBUTING CULTURES TO QUEBECKERS OF ALL ORIGINS

For more than a decade, the Government consistently sought to promote the contributing cultures. Here the outlook is largely positive. First of all, the many support programs of the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) have helped establish initial contacts with the cultural communities. This demonstrates Québec's acceptance of pluralism. Furthermore, given its educational approach, its integration in the schools, and its recent expansion to include students of all origins, the Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine (the heritage languages program), whose budget exceeds \$1.5 million, has proved a real asset. Indeed, it helps develop a sense of belonging among students from the cultural communities while increasing the degree of inter-cultural education of all students. More recently, initiatives that promote the contributing cultures to the host-society have begun to multiply, notably in recreational centres, schools, libraries and cultural centres. Most noteworthy are the efforts of the City of Montréal, whose Politique de développement culturel (cultural development policy) places a great deal of emphasis on the integration of contributing cultures to foster the development of roots for the cultural communities and the enrichment of all Montrealers.

The Government will pursue action in this field. However, it has observed that some of its activities have occasionally had the effect of isolating the Quebeckers from the cultural communities. Here, their contribution to the enrichment of the host-society is less obvious. Also, isolation does not encourage a sense of allegiance to Québec.

Government action will, from now on, correspond more to a dynamic vision of a Québécois culture that is open to the many contributions of the cultural communities and to intergroup exchanges. To support this cultural dynamism, it must help the host-society integrate the contribution made by Quebecers from the cultural communities. Promoting the value of the contributing cultures, as cultures that are growing and developing roots in Québec⁶⁵, will help all Quebecers identify with a pluralist society.

The Government is therefore planning to assign priority to supporting the organizations and initiatives that promote the contributing cultures to Quebecers of all origins. Also, it wants to maximise the impact of its actions on the population as a whole and to counter the all-too-widespread perception of the cultural communities as the particular clientele of a single ministry. So the Government is gradually seeking to ensure that existing regular Government programs in culture, recreation, education and communication bring in the contributing cultures.

Furthermore, after it has completed its review, already in progress, the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will reorganize its grant programs for community organizations. These will now assign priority to actions that focus more directly on the participation of Quebecers from the cultural communities and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. In promoting the contributing cultures, initiatives aimed at an intergroup rapprochement, that include multi-ethnic organizations, will receive special attention.

The principal measures to be introduced to **promote the contributing cultures** include:

- The Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine will be developed and its reach increased among the school population as a whole
- Ministère des Affaires culturelles (Ministry of Cultural Affairs) actions will be developed on behalf of the contributing cultures, among others, through:
 - * the promotion of the heritage and archives of Quebecers from the cultural communities
 - * support for the adjustment of public libraries to the pluralist reality
 - * consolidation of the technical services that are provided for artists from the cultural communities
- The ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) will organize an annual exhibition that promotes the visual arts of the cultural communities to the host-society
- An interdepartmental committee will be set up to encourage increased consideration for the contributing culture in Government programs, aimed at the population as a whole.

⁶⁵ Hence the adoption of a new terminology — contributing cultures — which, more than the traditional concept of culture of origin, better reflects the authentically Québécois character of the various cultures that have, are, and will continue to enrich the heritage of Québec society.

**SUPPORTING RAPPROCHEMENT
WITH THE FRENCH-SPEAKING
MAJORITY AND ENCOURAGING THE
RESOLUTION OF INTERGROUP
TENSIONS**

Government actions in favour of this objective include two types: the fight against isolation and support for the resolution of intergroup tensions.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ISOLATION

In recent years, opportunities for contact between Quebecers from the cultural communities and the French-speaking community have grown. To begin with, 70 per cent of students of non-French or English mother tongue and almost all newcomers now attend French school. Here they basically relate daily with French-speaking students from long-established families. Also, the dispersal of immigrant populations throughout the metropolitan territory since 1971 has resulted in the increased presence of Quebecers from the cultural communities in traditionally French-speaking neighbourhoods¹⁰. In the SEGMA-Lavallin survey, Quebecers of non-French or English mother tongue in Montréal declared that they were in regular contact with long established French-speaking families in varying degrees, depending on the sector: 78 per cent at work, 74 per cent in the stores and 45 per cent to 50 per cent through social, school or neighbourhood activities.

The Government has also supported a number of rapprochement initiatives sponsored by community organizations or associations. This support has particularly gone to the Programme d'aide aux organismes de rapprochement and the Programme d'aide aux activités interculturelles, introduced since 1987 by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration).

Despite this positive change, isolation persists. For instance, certain groups of women from the cultural communities — especially housewives or women who work in small family businesses — often have no contact with the larger society or with other Québec women. This is a major obstacle to their integration and often inhibits family integration as well.

Metropolitan concentration of immigration, as well as the objective of regionalization also dictate an increase in the actions designed to foster a rapprochement between Quebecers in regions outside Montréal and the multi-ethnic population of Montréal. So far, very little initiative has been taken here. No matter where they live, the Quebecers of tomorrow must be able to make contact with the multi-ethnic reality that will increasingly characterize our society.

Finally, because of the increase in the number of schools with a high ethnic-density on the Island of Montréal — now 45 out of 300 — special action is needed. In these schools, the majority of which belong to the anglo-Catholic and franco-Protestant sectors, the development of a sense of belonging to Québec society must be fostered among the students from the cultural communities by allowing them to make friends with French-speaking students from long-established families.

These measures will support the fight against isolation:

- Support for non-government organizations working towards rapprochement with the French-speaking majority will be increased
- Projects will be aimed at countering the isolation of certain groups of women in the cultural communities
- Twinning of municipalities will be supported where there is a high concentration of French-speakers in regions outside Montréal with multi-ethnic municipalities or neighbourhoods in the Greater Montréal Area
- A twinning and exchange program will be created between schools with a high ethnic-density and schools with a strong French presence.

¹⁰ LE BOUTAIS, C. and LEFEBVRE, C. *Spatialisation des composantes techniques, socio-économiques et familiales à Montréal en 1981*, INRS, February 1987.

RESOLUTION OF INTERGROUP TENSIONS

Overall, increased contact between the various groups of our society has resulted in the emergence of harmonious intergroup relations. We can look at the rather serene climate that reigns in Montréal and the relatively limited number of ethnic or racial incidents there. Relations among students of different origins are positive in French-speaking schools. According to the Conseil de la langue française, almost all students at the elementary level and 65 per cent of French high school students who belong to the cultural communities have friends among Québécois students from long-established families⁶⁷.

However, the Government is concerned about the persistence of problem situations that require solution before they spread to other sectors of society. In some neighbourhoods, for example, open or latent conflicts which occasionally result in regrettable incidents impair cooperation among citizens of all origins and maintenance of the social peace.

Cultural and racial tensions have also been on the rise in certain multi-ethnic high schools in Montréal. In fact, over 75 per cent of students of all origins have already witnessed inter-ethnic incidents involving physical or verbal violence⁶⁸. Similarly, differences are occasionally not well accepted in some CEGEPs in the Montréal area.

Finally, an increase in the "gang" phenomenon involving young delinquents engaged in violent activities and, furthermore, their recent tendency to rally around ethnic or racial traits also calls for some coordinated action. Indeed, while the socio-economic factors that condition such a phenomenon must certainly be considered, the role played by ethnic and racial misunderstandings certainly cannot be neglected.

The principal measures to be introduced by the Government to encourage the **resolution of intergroup tensions** over the next three years include:

- Support will be developed for non-government organizations searching for solutions to intergroup tensions
- Projects will encourage the development of harmonious relations between Quebecers of all origins in schools and colleges, in the recreational sector and at the municipal level
- An interdepartmental committee will be created to study the issue of intergroup violence and tensions among the population of adolescents and young adults.

⁶⁷ BEAUCHESNE, A. and HENSLEY, H., *L'École française à clientèle pluriethnique de Montréal: situation du français et intégration psychosociale des élèves*, Conseil de la langue française, 1987.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

ORCHESTRATED ACTION

The success of any policy largely depends on the means chosen to implement it. This reality is especially evident with the immigration and integration policy. It affects every aspect of life in society and involves numerous players. The Government thus intends to support the commitment of all interested parties through coordination and concerted action with its partners. Since these issues are largely new to the host-society, actions that allow follow-up, research and evaluation of results will be especially important.

GOVERNMENT COORDINATION

To achieve the objectives pursued by the policy, cooperation and concerted action with all of society's partners are needed. The immigrants themselves, Quebecers from the cultural communities and the population as a whole will be mainly responsible for successful integration. However, the immigration and integration policy, both officially and practically, involves three major categories of participants. These are the Government (ministries and various agencies), non-government organizations working with Quebecers from the cultural communities and socio-economic partners, particularly at the municipal level.

This policy statement must be reflected throughout the Government apparatus, which plays an essential role in many ways. The Government will implement various actions. It will support its partners with human and financial aid. The impact of its leadership on other sectors of society will also be vital. Among the Government departments and agencies that share the responsibility for implementing the policy in their respective fields, the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) obviously plays

a special role. It has specific duties in matters of selection, integration of newcomers and rapprochement of Quebecers of all origins. But since 1981, its act of incorporation has also assigned it the responsibility of coordinating and implementing all policies and programs on the development of cultural communities and their full participation in Québec society. Its budget has almost doubled in three years to assume these tasks.

To fulfill this mandate, the *ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) has been restructuring itself since 1989. This restructuring will allow it to introduce procedures and the necessary infrastructure to support its own activities and those of its Government partners. Thus, a *Direction générale des Politiques et Programmes* (a Policies and Programs Branch) has been created to develop the necessary expertise to define and implement various measures in immigration and integration. Also, to fulfill its mission within the Government, the Ministère announced in the spring of 1989 the constitution of a network of representatives from the various ministries and agencies. The mission of these representatives is to assist in developing and implementing policies, programs and measures aimed at the cultural communities. They will coordinate these activities, notably follow-up of the Government's plan of action and ensure that their interests and rights are taken into account within their organizations.

CONCERTED ACTION WITH ITS PARTNERS

However, the Government cannot operate independently. It must also rely on other partners who maintain close ties with the cultural communities or who are directly affected by the policy's objectives.

The Government especially acknowledges the importance of cooperation with non-government organizations, notably those of the cultural communities which have developed considerable expertise with a clientele that they have often served for quite some time. In fact, both with the supply of services and knowledge of the needs of the clientele, it considers these organizations as partners whose cooperation is essential to the success of the policy.

All the Government's socio-economic partners, especially those at the municipal level, must be involved in defining and achieving the policy orientations in immigration and integration. It respects their independence, but the Government will solicit and encourage more cooperation from all sectors of society in the pursuit of a goal that they can only share as citizens concerned with the future of Québec.

This commitment to act in concert with its partners will first be fulfilled by organizing, early in 1991, a public consultation on this policy statement, enabling all concerned groups to be heard. After this consultation, the measures to be implemented as well as the necessary funding will be announced.

In the next three years, other activities will foster **government coordination and concerted action among the partners:**

- The Government's 1991-1994 plan of action will be published. It will outline all the activities planned by the various ministries and agencies
- A Fonds d'initiative will be created which will support the implementation of the plan of action within the departments and agencies. It will promote innovative projects which will help institutions to adopt the pluralist reality
- There will continue to be public consultation on planning immigration levels and the various components of the migration movement
- Information mechanisms will be created to encourage the exchange of information and pooling of all the partners' ideas and experiences.

FOLLOW-UP, RESEARCH AND EVALUATION OF RESULTS

Research and evaluation are absolutely essential components in implementing a policy. They form a basis for its definition and allow its follow-up and eventual redirection.

In immigration and integration, the efforts to be made here are substantial because, given the relatively recent nature of this issue in Québec, data systems on the subject in the various milieux are as yet underdeveloped.

To allow identification of quantitative objectives and more precise evaluation of the impact of certain actions, information systems on the clientele need to be developed. Indeed, at the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), the computerized data banks are still lean. The lack of performance indicators makes it difficult to follow up on immigration applicants and on the immigrant clientele at various stages of the selection. It is also difficult to match the linguistic and socio-economic integration processes. Throughout the Government apparatus, statistical data on the cultural communities is not always available. If it does exist, it is not necessarily compatible from one organization to another.

To adapt policies and programs, there must be more research on immigrant clienteles and the cultural communities, including their strategies for placement, their retention and their needs. Priorities in this domain notably concern the process of learning and adopting French, socio-economic and educational integration and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. Also, research should help adapt services to the needs of the various target clienteles.

By 1994, it is essential that there be close follow-up of the measures contained in the plan of action that will have been implemented by the ministries and agencies. The impact of the various actions on policy objectives will also have to be evaluated. Indeed, this is one of the factors that motivated the start-up of the network of representatives. Faced with a relatively new challenge, the experience accumulated during this period will be valuable in defining and orienting Government action in the years to come.

These measures will allow **follow-up of Government action, the development of research and the evaluation of policy results:**

- Data banks and performance indicators will be developed that will allow follow-up of the immigrant clientele and the evaluation of activities at various stages of the selection and integration process
- Coordinated interdepartmental action will be developed to standardize and harmonize statistical collection of data on the cultural communities throughout the Québec Government apparatus
- Research will support the planning and evaluation of policies and programs aimed at the cultural communities, notably by the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), the ministère de l'Éducation du Québec (Québec Ministry of Education) and the ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (Ministry of Health and Social Services)
- Progress reports will be made on the implementation of measures in the plan of action in the annual reports of various departments and agencies
- An overall report will be produced on the results of the policy at the end of the three years' implementation.

CONCLUSION

ENRICHMENT WITHIN OUR REACH

For the Government of Québec, immigration can and must make a contribution to the objectives that it has set itself to enhance the future of Québec: redressing the demographics, economic prosperity, the perennial reality of the French Fact and openness to the world.

The scope of this contribution depends, of course, on the volume and attributes of the people admitted to Québec. Hence, this considered immigration policy. But the policy depends equally on the respect that Quebeckers by birth and Quebeckers by adoption give to the social choices that are shaping modern Québec. Thus, Québec is French-speaking, democratic and pluralist. From these choices arise the expectations of the host-society and the responsibilities that it assumes for its newest members. Hence, a considered integration policy.

Such are the ambitions of this statement of policy. The Government's policy and plan are still a risk, for it is our whole society, its institutions and its citizens who, at the end of the line, will dictate the success of this new purposeful openness.

